FBIS DAILY REPORT

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SOVIET AMBASSADOR AWARDS MEDALS TO ARMY OFFICERS

AU291951 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Nikita Tolubeyev, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR in Bulgaria, presented a group of generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's ARmy with the medal "for strengthening combat friendship," at the USSR Embassy in Sofia tonight. The Bulgarian generals and officers are being awarded by the USSR Supreme Soviet for their contribution to the consolidation of comradeship in arms and cooperation among the armies of the Warsaw Pact member countries and on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the Warsaw Pact organization. Army Gen Ivan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, spoke on behalf of those awarded.

ZHIVKOV MEETS WITH AGRARIAN UNION DELEGATION

AU252005 Sofia BTA In English 1850 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Sofia, 25 Dec (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP and president of the State Council, met today a delegation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, led by BAU Secretary Petur Tanchev. The Bulgarian party and state leader was informed about the fulfillment of the tasks undertaken by the united agrarians for ensuring the production with more and more diverse produce both in the public and in the private holding sector.

The teams and farms led by the united agrarians have produced in the seventh five-year period (1976-1980) farm produce to the tune of nearly 4 million leva, which is almost 20 percent of the output of the public sector in Bulgaria and is by more than 800 million leva more than the output in the Sixth Five-Year Plan period. Thanks to the careful attitude of the united agrarians towards the personal holdings it has turned into an important source of extra plant-and stock-breeding production. In 1979 and 1980 such holdings delivered to the purchasing organisations 56,000 tons of meat, more than 55 million litres of milk, 124 million eggs and 56 thousand tons of fruits and vegetables.

Expressing gratitude for the successes scored on behalf of the CC of the BCP and on his own behalf, Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized the active role of the BAU in solving the topical problems of Bulgaria's socioeconomic development. The combat union of the communists and agrarians, our joint work and struggle, which yielded abundant fruit both in the years before the victory of the socialist revolution and in the period of the socialist construction, is a historical gain the whole Bulgarian people are proud of, he said. The first secretary of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council made a high assessment of the initiative of the united agrarians to produce in the next two years and deliver to the state more than 20 percent of the output provided in the plan for production of farm produce in the private holdings. The meeting was attended by Mr Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, and BCP CC secretaries, Mr Georgi Atanasov and Mr Petur Dyulgerov.

ZHIVKOV MEETS MUNICIPAL PARTY MEMBERS IN TROYAN

AU272050 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov has met members of the municipal party committee in Troyan. He was briefed by Subcho Turnovski, first secretary of the municipal committee, on the fulfillment of the 5-year plan by the working people included in the Troyan conurbation system and on the tasks facing Troyan during the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave instructions on further developing the mountainous agriculture and cattle breeding, as well as on perfecting the organization of labor and on more fully using the achievements of scientfic-technical progress for production needs. Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee secretary, Petur Balevski, first secretary of the Lovech Okrug Party Committee, and George Shavkov, chairman of the Lovech Okrug People's Council Executive Committee, were also present.

MATOUS CONTINUES ARTICLE ON POLISH SITUATION

AU291923 Prague PRACE in Czech 24 Dec 80 p 2

[Second and last installment of Milan Matous' article: "False Friends of the People"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] YESTERDAY, IN AN ARTICLE WITH THE SAME TITLE, WE SHOWED THAT MANY FALSE FRIENDS ARE TRYING TO BECOME PARASITES OF THE COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT SITUATION IN POLAND.

U.S. President Carter, who forced through several antiworker laws during his tenure, has displayed a great "concern" about the freedom of workers in Poland. The American yellow [zlutacka] AFL-CIO trade union organization, which is well-known for its ultrareactionary position in the issues of peace and the world progressive movement, has set up a "fund to help the Polish working people." The Vatican, which from the very beginning of the workers movement belonged to its most unyielding opponents, now expresses the warmest sympathy with the breakaway trade union Solidarity. NATO Secretary General J. Luns, known for his past in the ranks of Dutch Fascists, has declared that "he follows with great sympathies the developments in Poland" and that the Solidarity leaders have made a big impression on him.

The world bourgeois circles employ the most varied means to add weight to Polish reactionary elements and to create an artificial international prestige for them. Even the Nobel Prize has already been misused several times for anticommunist goals in recent years. And the same thing happened this year. The 1980 Nobel Prize for Literature was given to Polish emigrant C. Milosz. The U.S. weekly NEWSWEEK, even in its glorifying article, had to admit that this man, who is active in the United States, is not known as a poet in that country; and the U.S. weekly TIME wrote: "Outside Poland and outside the department of Slavic languages at the University of California at Berkeley, he is little known." Why, then, did he get the Nobel Prize? The Hamburg weekly DER SPIEGEL answers this question with cynical openness: "Milosz, a fanatic anticommunist, was honored for anticommunist literature."

THE U.S. PRESIDENT, AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS, THE VATICAN, WEST GERMAN REVANCHISTS, NATO, THE NOBEL PRIZE FOUNDATION--ALL THESE ARE CERTAINLY A VERY MOTLEY GROUP. WHAT UNITES THEM, WHAT AWOKE IN THEM JUST TODAY SUCH AN INTEREST IN POLAND AND EVEN IN ITS WORKERS CLASS? HARDLY A SINCERE CONCERN ABOUT THE FATE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OR PERFECTING SOCIALISM.

The bourgeois DER SPIEGEL, in an article pretending to "glorify the Polish proletariat" writes at the same time about "the absurd idea that revolutionaries or clerks could initiate productive forces equally as well as businessmen or enterpreneurs." Revolutionaries and clerks--this is supposed to be, in this anticommunist slang, precisely the victorious Polish proletariat that pushed through socialist ownership of the means of production. "The proletariat's acquired wisdom" is apparently to be manifested in the factories, mines, banks and all the social wealth being returned to the "businessmen and enterpreneurs," in the working people humbly renouncing their power and returning it to the bourgeoisie.

POLAND WAS ALSO "ON THE AGENDA" OF THE NATO SESSION THAT ENDED IN BRUSSELS ON 12 DECEMBER. WHAT CAUSED THE MINISTERS OF NATO MEMBER COUNTRIES TO DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO THE AFFAIRS OF A STATE THAT DOES NOT BELONG TO THAT ORGANIZATION, BUT THAT IS AND REMAINS AN INDIVISIBLE PART OF THE POLITICAL, MILITARY AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM? ANSWERING THAT QUESTION, THE SOVIET DAILY PRAVDA A FEW DAYS AGO PUBLISHED A VERY PRECISE ANSWER IN AN ARTICLE BY A. PETROV: "MANY REALITIES OF TODAY'S EUROPE DO NOT SUIT THE NATO LEADERS," THE AUTHOR WRITES.

"THIS FACT IS KNOWN AND IS BY FAR NOT NEW.... WHAT IS NEW IS THAT NOW, WHEN THE AGGRESSIVE TENDENCIES WITHIN NATO HAVE INTENSIFIED, SOME OF THE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE BLOC ARE DETERMINED TO EXCEED THE GENERALLY RECOGNIZED NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND GO FROM IDEOLOGICAL INTERVENTION IN POLISH AFFAIRS, WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN CARRYING ON FOR YEARS, TO A DIFFERENT KIND OF INTERFERENCE. IN THE PERIOD OF THE COLD WAR, THIS WAS OPENLY CALLED THE POLICY OF "CONTAINMENT OF COMMUNISM." TIMES ARE DIFFERENT NOW. SOME WOULD LIKE TO PASS OFF THIS SAME IMPERIALIST POLICY AS SOME SORT OF "CARE FOR DETENTE".... IF WE WERE TO CALL THINGS BY THEIR CORRECT NAME, THE NATO COUNCIL PURSUES ITS OLD GOAL--TO EXPAND THE BLOC'S "SPHERE OF ACTIVITY" AND TO FIND FURTHER INSTRUMENTS FOR INTERFERING IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES, IN THIS CASE A SOCIALIST STATE."

Poland's false friends of various ideopolitical persuasions and the institutions of the international bourgeoisie are linked by class hatred of the Polish workers class and the progressive revolutionary forces of the world as a whole. They are trying to exploit the principles of real socialism, Marxism-Leninism and the communist movement. They are trying to use this occasion for some sort of ideological offensive against the growing influence of Marxism-Leninism in the world. They are trying to divert attention from crisis phenomena and from the militarist policy of imperialism. The intensive propaganda against Poland, the PZPR and against the unity of the socialist community is part of the imperialist concept of "destabilization" of socialism.

INTERNATIONAL REACTION DEVOTES AN IMMENSE ATTENTION TO AND GREAT RESOURCES FOR IDEOLOGICAL DIVERSION AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIONS AGAINST SOCIALISM. IT MAINLY PENETRATES WHERE WE MAKE THIS POSSIBLE THROUGH OUR MISTAKES. THIS WAS THE CASE IN HUNGARY IN 1956 AND HERE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968, AND NOW IT IS A SIMILAR CASE IN POLAND.

ANTICOMMUNISM IS NOT BORN OUT OF OUR MISTAKES, HOWEVER. IT ONLY BECOMES A PARASITE OF THEM. IT IS THE LASTING EXPRESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL BOURGEOISIE'S ENDEAVORS TO STOP AND REVERSE THE LOGICAL PROGRESS OF THE WORLD, THE LOGICAL TRANSITION OF MANKIND FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM.

In contrast to the false friends from the circles of the international bourgeoisie, the Polish people have true, sincere friends, with which they are connected through class interests, the uniform international teaching of Marxism-Leninism and concern for the fate of socialism. The joint statement of the heads of party and state representatives of the Warsaw Pact member countries of 5 December states: SOCIALIST POLAND, THE PZPR AND THE POLISH PEOPLE CAN FIRMLY RELY ON THE FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY AND SUPPORT OF THE WARSAW PACT MEMBER COUNTRIES. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PZPR HAVE STRESSED THAT POLAND WAS, IS AND WILL REMAIN A SOCIALIST STATE, A FIRM COMPONENT OF THE HARMONIOUS FAMILY OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

TRYBUNA LUDU CHIEF EDITOR VISITS PRAGUE

AU291952 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Dec 80 p 2

[Text] Prague, 23 Dec (RP)--O. Svestka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee secretariat and RUDE PRAVO chief editor, has received Wieslaw Bek, chief editor of TRYBUNA LUDU, the daily of the PZPR Central Committee. The representatives of the two editorial offices discussed deepening cooperation between RUDE PRAVO and TRYBUNA LUDU.

After a 2-day stay in Prague, the Polish guest left for home on Tuesday.

CHNOUPEK CONGRATULATES HAIG ON APPOINTMENT

AU291820 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Dec 80 p 2

[Report in the column "International Contacts"]

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Alexander Haig Jr on the occasion of his appointment to be the U.S. secretary of state.

HUSAK MEETS WITH PRAGUE CITY DELEGATION LED BY KAPEK

LD291824 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, received today in Prague Castle representatives of the working people of the capital city. The delegation was headed by Antonin Kapek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the city party committee in Prague.

Present at the traditional end-of-the-year meeting were representatives of party and state bodies, the trade union movement, the Socialist Union of Youth, and other organizations of the National Front, workers of Prague industries, the building industry, transportation, trade, science, culture and other branches.

Comrade Antonin Kapek spoke about the results achieved in 1980 in the socialist construction of Prague and in the fulfillment of the tasks of the state plan in 1980 and the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The life of the inhabitants of the capital city has been improved by new sections of the metro, new stretches of the new road system, and other important projects, the progressing housing construction, and the development of creches and kindergartens. The industries of Prague, as well as other branches, will have honestly fulfilled the tasks of the state plan. Despite the necessity to overcome a number of hurdles--and not all problems have been so far solved satisfactorily--the results achieved in the last decade amount to a significant contribution to the construction of Prague as an exemplary socialist capital city.

Comrade Antonin Kapek underlined the development of the broad working initiative in honor of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 60th anniversary of the party's foundation, an initiative which reflects active support for CPCZ policy. This all makes good prerequisites for our successful continuation of the development of Prague in the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

In conclusion Comrade Antonin Kapek expressed thanks for the care afforded by the top party and state bodies, and Comrade Gustav Husak personally, to the capital city of the CSSR. At the same time he made a pledge that the Prague city party organization, the National Front, the national committees, and the working people of Prague will make every effort to fulfill the tasks to be laid down by the 16th party congress.

Husak Address

LD292114 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Comrade Gustav Husak said, speaking at the meeting [of representatives of the working people of Prague] in Prague Castle today, that now we are able to talk about many good things which have been done for the working people and for the development of our country, although during this year it was necessary to resolve many complex problems. Much has also been done for the construction of Prague and the development of its inhabitants' living standards.

Many important projects will be useful not only in the near future but also for generations to come. Comrade Gustav Husak praised the results achieved by industry and other production and nonproduction branches, which play an indispensable role in the life of Prague. All that has been achieved in 1980, in the Sixth 5-Year Plan and the past decade, was the work of the selfless endeavor of party bodies and organizations, the National Front, the national committees, and all the working people of Prague who deserve thanks and praise for the work done. The contribution made by the working people from other regions of our country, who are helping with the construction of Prague, also deserves praise.

In assessing the results achieved this year, Comrade Gustav Husak stressed that despite the complex problems encountered by the economy, the existing high living standards of the working people were maintained and their social security strengthened. This will be our aim also in 1981 and the years to come. The tasks will be demanding, but it will be possible to fulfill them. The 13th CPCZ Central Committee session stressed that the mastering of these tasks will require a further purposeful development of our economy, an improvement in organization and management, and the effort to ensure that the broadest strata of the working people correctly understand the present demands and actively contribute to their fulfillment.

The importance of the working people's great initiative and the movement of socialist pledges, which are being concluded in honor of the 16th party congress and the 60th anniversary of its foundation, is great. It is also important that these pledges are aimed above all at savings of energy and metals and at scientific-technical progress. The Prague movement called "for close cooperation between science and production" is also developing in the right direction.

Comrade Gustav Husak also underlined the support given by the working people of Prague to the policy of the CPCZ Central Committee through their creative work. He praised the activity of the city party committee and of the National Front organizations which is contributing to the fact that in Prague, as in other regions of our state, there is a positive political atmosphere. Our experiences teach us that without good political work it is impossible to achieve permanent results in any branch. The leadership of the party and state will pay attention to the construction of Prague also in the years to come. Comrade Gustav Husak said that it is the duty of us all to ensure that--within the means available to us--the great work of the socialist construction of Prague further successfully continues, the capital city of the CSSR continues to thrive, and its inhabitants enjoy ever better conditions of peaceful work and life. It is of decisive significance for this goal that in cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries we are stepping up our joint struggle for peace and progress.

In conclusion Comrade Gustav Husak expressed his belief that the party organization, the National Front organizations and the national committees in Prague will work in such a way in 1981 also that they mark with new successes the 16th CPCZ Congress and the elections to representative bodies. Comrade Gustav Husak wished all inhabitants of Prague, good health, happiness and work successes in 1981.

HUSAK, STROUGAL SEND LETTER ON DEATH OF ARTIST

LD292046 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, has sent a letter of condolences on the death of the national artist, Frantisek Studeny, to the Slovak Ministry of Culture and the Slovak Union of Creative Artists.

The letter says that our society has lost an important artist and active cultural personality who greatly contributed to the development of the Czechoslovak creative arts: His work will belong to our culture forever.

A letter of condolences on the death of the national artist, Frantisek Studeny, has also been sent to the Slovak Ministry of Culture and the Slovak Union of Creative Artists by Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal.

ADDITIONS TO PRAGUE REVIEW OF GENSCHER VISIT

The following additions to the item entitled "Reportage on FRG Minister Genscher's Visit," and subtitled "Prague Reviews Visit," appearing in the 22 December Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page D 8 are taken from RUDE PRAVO of 22 December:

On page D 8 RUDE PRAVO omits the first paragraph, substituting: "On 18-20 December 1980 Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs, paid an official visit to the CSSR at the invitation of CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek."

On page D 9, RUDE PRAVO rephrases the first sentence of the second paragraph, making it read: "The talks between the ministers of foreign affairs, which took place in keeping with the established practice of mutual consultations, were devoted to the assessment of the state of the development of bilateral relations and to topical questions of the current international political situation."

On the same page, after the first sentence of the second paragraph, RUDE PRAVO inserts the following new paragraph:

In the course of all the talks the significance and the contribution of the treaty of mutual relations of 11 December 1973 was stressed as well as of the joint declaration signed during the visit by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, to the FRG in April 1978 for establishing good-neighborly relations between the two states and developing the process of easing tension and strengthening security and cooperation in Europe.

On the same page, after the fourth paragraph, RUDE PRAVO inserts the following new paragraph:

The Czechoslovak leading representatives stressed in their statements the CSSR's interest in continuing the process of detente and intensifying and expanding it in the military sphere, interest in positive practical results at the current disarmament talks including the talk between the USSR and the United States on nuclear arms in Europe and new possible disarmament forums such as, for instance, the conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, to the convening of which the Madrid meeting should provide a mandate.

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO rephrases the sixth paragraph, making it read: "It voiced concern over the openly declared attempts of the United States, supported by some NATO countries, to upset the existing military balance in the world and gain a one-sided superiority, over the manifestations of its interference in the internal affairs of independent countries and over the tendencies towards the return to the policy of a position of strength and the cold war."

EAST BERLIN NOTES KURON'S REMARKS IN DIE WELT

LD291520 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Jacek Kuron, head of the Counterrevolutionary Social Self-Defense Committee, expects a gradual loss of power by the Polish communist leadership. Kuron revealed his plans in the FRG paper DIE WELT, which made a point of referring to him as adviser to Lech Walesa. Kuron stated that the party's leadership role, as well as its rule over the administration, police and military, still had to be accepted out of necessity.

HONECKER HOLDS TALKS WITH 'ARAFAT 29 DEC IN BERLIN

LD291852 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1522 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 29 Dec (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received for a friendly talk on Monday Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. Erich Honecker briefed his guest on the preparation of the 10th SED Congress and paid tribute to the hitherto biggest mass initiative by the GDR workers. Through high performances they strengthen overall their socialist fatherland.

Referring to the international situation aggravated by imperialism's course of confrontation, Erich Honecker affirmed the GDR's consistent peace course. In alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states it will also in the future contribute actively toward improving the international climate, the continuation of the policy of detente, a stop to the arms race and toward disarmament, as well as the development of international cooperation on an equal footing.

As far as the Middle East is concerned, the GDR continues to adhere to the viewpoint that peace and security in that region may be achieved only once the complete withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, the safeguarding of the inviolable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to the return, self-determination and creation of their own independent Palestinian state are realized, Erich Honecker said. The essential part of the solution is and remains the Palestine question. This requires that even those who have to date denied all recognition to the PLO and the rights of the Palestinian people finally recognize the reality.

Yasir 'Arafat cordially expressed his thanks for the invitation to the GDR and assessed his visit as a renewed expression of the close solidarity of the people of the GDR with the just struggle of the Palestinian people. He agreed with Erich Honecker's assessment. The two sides condemned imperialism's policy of confrontation, especially that of the United States, in the Near and Middle East which dangerously aggravates the situation. This encourages Israel to new acts of aggression both in the occupied Arab territories as well as in the Arab states. The latest criminal attacks on Palestinian refugee camps and places in South Lebanon vividly bear witness to this.

The two sides support the Palestinian people's struggle in the occupied territories for liberation and national rights, against the Camp David conspiracy and its so-called "autonomy." They condemn the Israeli practice of oppression in the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories.

Yasir 'Arafat affirmed that despite all machinations by imperialism, Zionism, reaction and their henchmen the just struggle by the Palestinian people for the liberation of their occupied homeland and the implementation of their inviolable national rights, as contained in the relevant UN documents concerning the Palestinian questions, can never be stifled. The two sides support the resolutions concerning the Palestinian, Jerusalem and Middle East questions adopted at the 35th UN General Assembly.

Supported by the unity of all departments of the Palestinian liberation movements, in close solidarity with the progressive and democratic force in the world and in alliance with the states of the socialist community, the PLO will gain new victories.

Yasir 'Arafat was accompanied by Faraq Qaddumi, member of the PLO Executive Committee and chief of the Political Department, and 'Abd al-Muhsin Abu Mayzar, member and official spokesman of the PLO Executive Committee.

For the SED the following took part: Hermann Axen and Gerhard Grueneberg, members of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and Friedel Trappen, deputy chief of the Central Committee International Relations Department.

Also present at the talk in the SED Central Committee building was Isam Kamil Salim, chief of the PLO representation in the GDR.

GERSTNER ON ECONOMIC PROGRESS, HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

DW291444 [Editorial Report] In his weekly economic review, broadcast by the East Berlin Domestic Service in German at 1005 GMT on 28 December, Karl-Heinz Gerstner assesses the GDR's economic development during 1980 and maintains that compared with other countries, which suffered serious setbacks this year, the GDR has made "a good showing." Industrial production "increased by at least 5 percent, which is the equivalent of M15 billion more than last year, and a plan lead of at least 2 days has been attained." Gerstner adds that this production growth is attributable "nearly exclusively" to an increased labor productivity rate which amounted to 5 percent, likewise reflecting an overfulfillment of the plan.

Gerstner, who points out that the party's economic strategy again proved its worth in 1980, appreciates the organization of combines as a new form of planning and managing production. These combines, which account for "96 percent of our industrial production today," proved their worth as pillars of the socialist planned economy, for "in more than 50 percent of the combines labor productivity increased at a faster pace than did production.

Despite all burdens and cost increases, Gerstner continues, the GDR persisted in its housing construction program "without any cuts." The housing construction program provides for the construction of 3 million apartments within three 5-year plan periods, 1976-80, 1981-85 and 1986-90, and thus for the solution of the housing problem. "Under the 5-year plan period now expiring it was planned to complete 750,000 apartments. By now we can see already that this target will not only be fulfilled but even exceeded."

Gerstner draws attention to the fact that the unchanged, low rents in the GDR by far do not cover the economic expenditure for housing construction. "Roughly two-thirds of the total expenditures for housing come from the state budget. At present the share of rents in the income of the people in our country amounts to between 2 and 8 percent of the family income, as against 13 to 35 percent in capitalist countries like the FRG." The GDR's socialist state guarantees that rents will not be increased in the eighties, he adds.

During the past few years, Gerstner continues, the "production basis of housing construction" was enlarged by investments running into billions of marks. Since the ninth party congress, "nine panel works--also generally referred to as house factories--started production, with more being under construction. By now we have a prefabrication capacity in the efficient large-panel construction method of more than 100,000 newly built apartments a year. This increased the share of the assembly-construction method to 95 percent of all newly built apartments."

Gerstner, who also refers to the increase in the construction of "social facilities," reports that the number of indoor swimming pools increased to 182 since the ninth party congress. The restoration of historical buildings such as the Gewandhaus in Leipzig or the Semper Opera in Dresden is making good progress, he states.

RESOLUTION OF 24TH TRADE UNION CONGRESS ISSUED

AU291441 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 17 Dec 80 pp 3-5

["Resolution of the 24th Congress of the Hungarian Trade Unions"]

[Text] The 24th congress of the Hungarian trade unions has discussed and accepted the report of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] and the Auditing Committee on the work performed in the last 5 years and approved the proposal on amending the trade unions' statutes.

Concerning our social position and socialist development, the congress approves the analysis and appraisal of the MSZMP's 12th congress and identifies itself with the objectives and tasks that have been set, because they faithfully reflect the interests and aspirations of our people, the worker class and the 4.5 million trade union members.

Having evaluated the trade unions' activity, the 24th congress has concluded that in the past years, as before, they were responsible and active participants in everything that has taken and is taking place in implementing the program of socialist construction. At the trade union elections, in which more than 90 percent of the members participated and one million working people expressed their views, the confidence of the organized working people in the movement was further strengthened and their demands on the movement have intensified. The same was experienced at the elections of the trade union committees, the conferences of the county deputies and the congresses of industrial branches and sectors. This confidence constitutes recognition of the successful activity carried out by hundreds of thousands of functionaries in accomplishing production tasks, organizing work competition, improving living and working conditions, setting fairer wages, improving labor safety, improving cultural conditions, taking care of the working people's affairs more attentively and rapidly and enforcing legality. By all this, they have served, in a manner worthy of their mission, the individual interests of the working people and, at the same time, the interests of our entire society, progress and socialist construction.

Alongside the results, there still are shortcomings in the work of the trade unions. Many functionaries avail themselves timidly of trade union rights and a great deal of uncertainty is experienced in asserting the function of protecting interests also. There are still bureaucratic and formalistic features in the work of direction and supervision as well.

Appreciation of the work that has been done and further development of trade union and factory democracy imparts strength to members in accomplishing the tasks of the coming years and overcoming the weaknesses that can be found in our work.

I. We Are Serving in a Committed Manner the Cause of the Workers' Power, the Working People and Socialism

Since their establishment, the Hungarian trade unions have been pursuing their activity committed to the cause of the worker class and working people and serving their interests. They have retained this fundamental commitment and mission under conditions of the workers' power, but their activities have expanded and acquired a new content and also their character has changed.

A--The MSZMP is the leading force of our society, which on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and its own historical experiences, has created the political, organizational and social conditions under which the trade unions are able to fulfill their mission.

The trade union movement has occupied the position historically due to it in our country. It possesses the potential on the basis of which it can satisfy the increased requirements. As participant in the workers' power, it not only promotes implementation of policy, but participates in its development as well. [paragraph continues]

As a result of a prolonged--and still not concluded--process, the trade unions' relationship with the masses, the party and state power has been settled. Under the party's ideo-political direction, the organs and organizations serving the workers' power are performing their work with increasing autonomy and responsibility. Thus, the trade union movement is performing its own work autonomously, but not independent of the leading force of the worker class and the source of the workers' power. The trade unions' autonomy is recognized and regarded as necessary, as an inevitable demand of the development of a socialist society, by our party and government, which aspire to and consider the position and views of the trade unions on issues that affect the living and working conditions of the worker class and working people and social development as a whole.

B--Building a socialist society is the cause of the 4.5 million organized working people represented by the trade union movement as well. This commitment follows from historical traditions and the trade unions' present role and mission. From it also arises the trade unions' dual function. On the one hand, they organize and educate the working people to defend and strengthen the workers' power and enhance the political, economic and cultural strength of our society and, on the other hand, they aid and supervise the primacy of the material, social and cultural interests of the workers and working people and protect the rights, ensured under laws and regulations, of the working people and represent their interests. The two sides of their work cannot be separated from one another. They manifest themselves homogeneously in their daily work. The trade unions' rights and duties are indivisible; they presuppose each other. Trade union rights are the rights of the working people. Everyone must respect them and foster their exercise.

C--The socialist state and the trade union are linked by a fundamental identity of objectives, but their practical functions are different. Building a socialist society is their common goal. The relationship of the trade unions to the state is determined by mutual support, assistance, criticism and collaboration. An essential feature is the fact that the state, with the exception of superintending adherence to the law, does not oversee trade union activity, with state activity being under the supervision of the masses. Social support and control of state direction and economic and cultural activity and strengthening state power and relations between the state organs and the working people constitute an important trade union task. It is their duty to act, while relying on the working people's views, against bureaucracy and its manifestations arising at state organs and struggle to enforce adherence to socialist legality.

A good working relationship has developed between the state and trade union organs, but increased tasks call for its further development. Also, the trade unions should participate more actively in the work of the National Assembly.

Relations have developed between the Council of Ministers and the SZOT; they should be more resolute and systematic in the future. Organized prerequisites are needed to enable the SZOT or the industrial branch or sector trade union concerned to express their views before any disposition is made that affects the living conditions of wages and salary earners. There should be regular meetings and consultations between the Council of Ministers and SZOT leaders. It is necessary to choose the subjects of joint conferences in a more differentiated manner, supervise implementation of the jointly made decisions and learn the general mood of the working people with regard to decisions. Also, relations between the industrial branch and sector ministries and trade unions and regional organs and councils should be further developed in accordance with these principles.

II. We Are Responsible Participants in Strengthening the Socialist Character of Our Social and Economic Life

Trade union work in promoting economic activity and production has contributed to the results of the fifth 5-year plan, the building of almost 450,000 dwellings and thousands of kindergartens, schoolrooms, new hospitals and operating rooms. [paragraph continues]

The socialist work drives of the working people have been adapted to a considerable extent to the changed circumstances and have contributed in a determining manner to making factories, dwelling areas and the country more attractive and our life better.

It is of fundamental importance for the trade union movement that the continuity of our economic development should remain prevalent in the next 5-year plan period also. Therefore, the trade unions have participated with great political responsibility in the work of preparing the plan. We regard the guiding principles of the Sixth 5-Year Plan as an important document from the viewpoint of attaining our social-political and economic development objectives alike.

The trade unions agree with the guiding principles of the Sixth 5-Year Plan and the planned main objectives and orientations of our economic policy.

Increasing efficiency and competitiveness and promoting intensive development based on qualitative factors should be the main guideline of economic policy. This lays the foundations for further gradual improvement and consolidation of the equilibrium of the people's economy, retaining the standard of living of the population and improvement of living conditions commensurate with potential. This can be attained through technical development, transformation of the production structure, reduction of input and rational economizing. Considering, among other factors, our more modest means of development, greater attention than heretofore must be paid to handling, preserving and appreciating better our existing plant and assets.

The trade unions represent the viewpoint that, to retain and consolidate our standard of living achievements, enduring, long-term solutions should be brought forth.

There should be greater emphasis on the system of means that lays the foundation for realizing social-political objectives in the long term also. To this end, qualitative requirements should be brought forth. Our international competitiveness must be enhanced in the spirit of the program elaborated to transform the structure of the people's economy. Only by intensifying the social effectiveness of work can we attain our objectives.

A-- Proceeding from their mission and commitment, the trade unions should participate even more intensively in economically strengthening the workers' power. They promote the socialist development of our society by asserting, linked inseparably to one another, their specific methods and abilities, including active participation in planning, more effective enforcement of socialist democracy, organizing various socialist work drives, promoting material and moral incentives more consistent with the sense of justice of society, enhancing the vocational and general erudition of the working people and representing and protecting their rights and interests in daily work.

B-- In trade union pursuits to foster economic activity, the role and significance of participation in planning increase along with growing enterprise independence. Means and prerequisites for successful management and, consequently, the income and welfare of the working people depend fundamentally on the effective operation of enterprises and collectives. Therefore, gathering the working people's views and suggestions and very carefully considering the effect and possible consequences of plans, they should provide assistance to ensure better foresight and better-funded planning work. They should regularly offer observations on annual and medium-term plans and branch long-term concepts.

The more extensive the democracy of planning is, the more rapidly we advance toward the objectives regarding the efficiency and quality of economic development. Let the trade unions organize and encourage creative work conferences and discussions and oversee the implementation of correct proposals, turning reserves of intellectual resources into a material force.

C--Improving the work of direction and organization and activating enterprise technical-economic experts to a greater degree constitute a key issue of the activity of fostering production and management. Let the trade unions promote an active and assiduous participation of the workplace intelligentsia in realizing more efficient management. Let them support more leaders who take the initiative and set realistic tasks and strive for their consistent accomplishment. Let them espouse endeavors aimed at technical development, improvement of labor organization and application of more modern technology.

D--To make management more efficient, let them urge that socialist work drives be linked more closely to our economic-political endeavors and the responsibility and the interest of individuals be enhanced in the attainment of enterprise objectives. Let them promote more rapid discovery and utilization of internal enterprise reserves, more rational and economical use of economic resources--plant, energy and the labor force--and more effective development of innovative and creative work.

E--Building a socialist economy is the concern of millions of people. It becomes such a concern when the working people are aware of our objectives, participate in the development of tasks and have a say everywhere in public affairs and production tasks. Therefore, the prevalence and development of social democracy is a decisive prerequisite for our social progress. Forums of socialist democracy have been developed and are functioning, but they must be made more substantive. Trade unions' acting against views and practices that underestimate democratic methods is a prerequisite for this. Let them reject any formality and shame democracy. Let them see to it that the views of the working people are able to unfold as extensively as possible and that they are heard and let them oversee the implementation of proposals. Let them resolutely demand that the views of those are taken into consideration whom the decisions affect and on whom the accomplishment of the tasks devolve.

In making socialist democracy unfold, in addition to effectively asserting the proven forms, particular attention should be devoted to cooperation between trade union chief stewards and stewards vis a vis workplace economic managers and the stewards' bodies vis a vis enterprise and institute leaders. Efforts should be made to discuss every important issue, even going beyond the cases prescribed by legal stipulations, with the working people and stewards' bodies before decisions are made.

Let the trade unions exercise with responsibility and circumspection their right of expressing an opinion when leaders are selected and appointed and when the latter's work is appraised. Let the working people's opinion come into play in appraising the work of enterprise and institute leaders. When economic leaders are appraised and rated, it should be considered to what extent and on what standard they care for the working people and in what manner they fulfill the movement-oriented tasks of economic work. This should be an integral part of supervisory control.

F--Let the trade union organs and organizations attend, together with asserting the social interest and inseparably from it, to representing and protecting individual and group interests. The congress calls the trade union organs' attention to the fact that, in the course of cooperation, they must accept possible conflicts arising from a clash of interests as well. Let them convincingly represent individual, collective and social interests and a correct sequence of priority of daily and long-term interests. Let them strive for conciliation and agreement, thus asserting trade union rights in defense of the just demands of the working people and legality.

The trade unions can promote attainment of social objectives best by resolving conflicts among various interests in a manner that furthers progress. In addition to a general representation of interests, let the industrial branch and sector trade unions pay attention to the position and just demands of vocations, shops, workers living locally, commuters, women, youth, intellectuals and others.

Decisions affecting the development of living and working conditions and social assistance should be preceded by careful consideration of the working people's positions. Greater scope should be extended to open disputes and conciliations connected with interests. Establishing priorities between individual and group interests and noticing, in good time, the conflicts that arise and mitigating and eliminating them constitute an important prerequisite for retaining the attained standard of living.

G-- Let the trade union legal aid service be instrumental in redressing complaints, improving familiarity with the law and strengthening civic discipline. Let the trade unions act more resolutely toward those who violate the law and develop an atmosphere that ensures prompt and successful attention to the affairs of the working people. Serving the cause of the working people is the duty of leaders and functionaries engaged on any level and in any sphere of society. It is a duty that must be honorably fulfilled.

III. Let Us Preserve and Strengthen the Standard of Living Achievements Attained

The trade unions understand and accept that preserving the attained standard of living is the realistic goal of the present. Realizing that, even if the matter is narrowed down to its material aspects alone, preserving the standard of living is an undertaking worthy of respect--one that requires great efforts--they will do their best that this period should be as brief as possible and cause honestly working people as little difficulty as possible. The standard of living for those who fulfill the increased requirements should not diminish and it should even rise for those who produce more. The means available for social purposes should be used primarily to improve the position of people with low incomes, large families and pensioners and to develop dwelling construction.

A-- Wages, social allowances and consumer prices determining purchasing power are the means of social distribution. The trade unions deem it necessary that they should be decided together and on the basis of their reciprocal ramifications.

The majority of public opinion has accepted the need for fluctuating consumer prices. It understands that prices must be adapted to the requirements of the market and production, but it would like a more careful consideration of the economic reasons for the necessary price increases and the impact they make on various strata than heretofore. In justified cases, to retain the real value of wages, we should resort to compensation alternatives when central price measures are implemented. The development of "competition" between prices and wages is not regarded by the trade unions as useful either economically, socially, or politically. Therefore, we expect the state institutions to enforce strictest state discipline in establishing and supervising prices and to act with exemplary vigor against those who violate them and who obtain profit through dishonest means. The trade unions should help the work of state supervisory organs to this end by their more intensive participation in social supervision. They should keep in mind retaining the standard of the supply of commodities and improving the sophisticaton of trade as an important political issue.

The trade unions regard it as necessary that we pay constant attention to the comparative income rate of the worker class, the peasantry and various strata. They recommend that the government should pursue a wage policy practice in the coming plan period that is conducive to diminishing and eliminating the presently experienced contradictions in certain branches' workforce supply and in vocational training. Also, a wage policy applicable to a longer term should be elaborated in the near future and we should discuss it with the working people in advance.

Trade union organs should follow with attention the development of the comparative rate of incomes in vocations and of strata and the working people in general and prevent, without reason, tensions from arising. As local decisions will increasingly become the determining factor in the distribution of material assets and social care, the trade unions' responsibility will increase considerably at those levels. They should closely cooperate with enterprises in ensuring that making provisions for prices and wages everywhere should be in conformity with out policy and principles. They should see to it that the material incentive system should not anywhere offend the working people's sense of justice. The wage-political practice should serve as an effective means of appreciating disciplined and good work, exploring inner reserves and fully utilizing working hours. More efficient enterprise management should be fostered by applying more stimulative forms of wage calculation. Trade union organs and institute and enterprise leaders should make the working people understand that more wages and better social care can only be commensurate with better work.

B--There is full employment in our country and we intend to retain it in the future. The congress is of the opinion that, in a socialist society, full employment and the safety of existence cannot mean immobility in workforce management. Society cannot guarantee a workplace to each person according to his wishes. However, it must be made possible for everyone to find employment consistent with his training and ability. The trade unions would like enterprises and institutes to ensure more effective employment of manpower and state organs to plan manpower demand in harmony with plans for and the objectives of the people's economy. Further training and retraining of the working people should be more extensively organized. A homogeneous and modern rehabilitation system should be elaborated to foster a more flexible workforce management and better coordination of individual and social interests. The trade unions should contribute to ensuring that manpower regrouping is circumspectly prepared and carried out in a humane manner. They should help retrain the working people, preparing them for the tasks of their new jobs and their readjustment. Regroupings should be carried out in an organized manner and with consideration for the rightful wishes of those concerned.

Beginning a transition to a 5-day work week is considered necessary by the trade unions. Along with it, work discipline must be consolidated, working hours should be utilized better and a useful and substantive employment of leisure time should be more intensively facilitated.

C--The system and standard of social benefits is one of the greatest achievements of our socialist life. The trade unions' position is that, consistent with our economic results, benefits should be preserved, consolidated and further developed. We propose that a long-term, social-political plan be elaborated and submitted to a social debate in advance. Providing for children and caring for youth should be maintained on the same standard or even improved. The burdens of families with many children should be eased. Therefore, we propose that child care and family allowances be raised and kindergarten, general school and nursery places be increased.

We regard it as necessary that the real value of low pensions be retained and developed. A social program on attending to the needs of old people should be worked out.

Provisions must be made to further develop basic medical care, rehabilitation activity and the factory health system. To prevent diseases, prophylactic tests should be made general practice. We should gradually accomplish general care extending to the entire population. A more rapid overhaul of hospitals is an important prerequisite for all this.

Factory meals and the system of enterprise, workplace and social benefits must be further developed and greater attention must be paid to enterprise social facilities.

The congress calls the attention of the trade unions organs and the leading bodies of economic institutes to ensuring--by joint effort and exploring local possibilities, crossing industrial branch and county boundaries and availing themselves of all means for collaboration--that the attained standard of benefits is maintained. To concentrate and rationally utilize material means, it would be helpful to coordinate social-political objectives with local area development plans. Using enterprise financial means earmarked for this purpose and discharging them should be done with the approval of the stewards bodies. Social-political tasks everywhere should be incorporated in the enterprise, factory and institute plans.

The housing situation is one of the most important factors in shaping the life of the working people. We regard improving the housing of manual workers, young people founding a family, young technical workers and large families as an important aspect of our social policy. The organs concerned should make provisions for encouraging exchanges of dwellings, prerequisites for better housing management and expanding social supervision over the allocation of dwellings. Acceleration of dwelling maintenance and modernization should be urged. They should regard it as their duty to support workers' dwelling construction schemes and any initiative that augments dwelling construction and makes it less expensive. By stimulating and creating various prerequisites for it, they should foster dwelling construction from people's own resources.

Recreation is an important area of social benefits. Organized recreation should be ensured considering changed conditions. Developing therapeutic recreation and expanding forms of family recreation are coming to the fore. Through initiative and better organization, the trade unions should seek additional opportunities to increase the number of people participating in recreation. They should follow with greater attention the development of enterprise recreation and oversee a fairer distribution and use of enterprise recreation vouchers.

D--Greater attention should be paid to implementing investments that directly improve living conditions and the development of services. Social-political, labor safety and environmental protection tasks everywhere should be included in factory, enterprise and institute plans. Protecting the life and physical safety of the working people remains the trade unions' fundamental interest-protecting task. They should continue to strive to develop the sophistication of work and the working environment and satisfy the requirements of biotechnology.

IV. We Must Attend With Great Responsibility To Spreading Socialist Human Values

The 24th congress deems it necessary that the responsibility of trade union leading bodies, elected functionaries and activists should continue strengthening educational work, to ensure that the entire activity of the working people be permeated by exactitude, a sense of responsibility and stronger collective-mindedness.

A--The trade unions' educational activity should be directed at spreading socialist human values. Unions should be one of the main instruments in spreading a socialist relationship to work, in contributing to having work and the workplace appreciated, in enhancing respect for vocational, political and general erudition and in fostering the spreading of the socialist way of life. Material enrichment based on well-performed work must be linked more intensively to aspiration to moral and intellectual enrichment. Trade unions should educate people in creative work serving community interests and promote strengthening appreciation for work, an active attitude in public life and spreading the developing socialist moral features. They should act resolutely against any attitude contrary to our principles.

It is a just demand of members that the trade unions should attend separately to individual working strata and formulate and represent their specific interests concerning their position and living and working conditions. [paragraph continues]

Increased attention should be paid to attending to youth; efforts should be made to alleviate their problems regarding choosing a vocation, adaption to the workplace and founding a family. Diminishment of the disadvantages affecting women and mothers, resolving their problems and accomplishing policy tasks pertaining to women should be promoted.

In activities involving policy pertaining to working strata, greater attention should be devoted everywhere to attending to intellectual working people. The intellectual working people's position has developed commensurate with our country's increasing economic strength, but they still have numerous just demands that have to be gradually satisifed. It is necessary to stress, at the same time, that society also expects increasingly more from the intellectual working people in accomplishing the tasks facing our country.

B--Particular attention should be devoted to the socialist brigades' cultural and public life, book-reading drives and amateur artistic groups. They should foster vocational training, extension training and basic education on the basis of which these may be generally extended. The technical intelligentsia should be involved more intensively in spreaking world-standard technical knowledge and processes, in acquainting people with them and in direct attention to skilled worker strata.

Through rational utilization of internal reserves, the establishment of priorities regarding tasks, modernization of working methods and better utilization of institutes--the trade unions' cultural and educational activity can be made more successful and substantive even without a considerable increase of material expenditure. This requires greater consistency. Provisions should be made at workplaces to maintain and develop the standard of basic cultural and sports facilities. In directing the physical education of the working people, efforts should be made to organize new forms of the factory mass sports movement and make the masses interested in sports and satisfy their interest.

C--The trade unions should develop agitation and propaganda work. They should enrich their content, methods and organizational forms to intensify their closeness to life and influencing force. They should raise the standard of verbal agitation and propaganda. They should prepare functionaries for this task and assist them in regarding educational and outlook-shaping work as an indispensable element of their movement activity. Being theoretically demanding should be strengthened further in trade union work. In our theoretical work, they should provide answers to the changes in life and see to it that the implications revealed by theory are applied in practice as extensively as possible.

V. Let Us Increase the Stewards' Role and the Members' Say and Participation in the Development of Workplace Public Life

The congress regards it as necessary that the positive processes that have developed in the past 5 years toward trade union democracy, more direct participation of members and improvement of work and working methods of directing and leading organs should be perfected and augmented with new elements and that their social impact should continue to increase.

A--Improving basic organization work is an important area of our progress. We have adapted organizational structure to the present requirements and increased demands. The main task of the next period is to consolidate this organizational system based on stewards and accomplish close relations between direction and execution and the leading bodies and members.

We should further strengthen the stewards' role in developing workplace public life. Through even better information than heretofore, regular training, extension training and widespread favorable experiences, we should enable the stewards to be real and recognized leaders of their groups and responsible partners of the economic leadership.

Stewards must be given every assistance in their preparation for institutional work, in enabling them to develop their representational position on the basis of learning the working people's views together with the working people, and in enabling the stewards to inform the rest of their groups in good time and convincingly about the resolutions and decisions that have been made.

That should be the basis for mobilization to assume and successfully accomplish tasks and organizational and educational work. That should enhance our members' direct interest in and willingness to accomplish tasks. Questions of smaller and greater importance preoccupying the working people should be assigned a greater role in the life of group and members' meetings and working collectives. Greater attention should be devoted to shaping individual attitude--relationship to work, collective, mindedness, discipline--learning, culture and material and moral recognition. All that should impart an impetus to group life and promote harmony between individual and collective interests.

B--The direction of the trade union movement is homogeneous. The organizational change that has taken place in the structure of ministries affects trade union activity as well. Organizational forms and methods for cooperation with the fused ministries will have to be elaborated. The work of direction in principle of the SZOT, as the trade unions' supreme organ of direction and representation affecting the movement as a whole, must be further developed. It should more effectively aid the industrial branch and sector trade unions and the county trade union councils in accomplishing their tasks so as to enhance the role and responsibility of industrial branch and sector trade unions in the system of direction as a whole.

Industrial branch and sector trade unions should avail themselves more boldly than heretofore of their autonomy and the poltical responsibility attached to it with regard to all important issues: the accomplishment of the tasks facing the sector, representing the working people of branches and sectors, shaping the sector's direction and developing the work of the basic organizations. Cooperation among branch and sector trade unions should be developed and their measures should be coordinated in accordance with social requirements and the members' interests.

Division of labor and cooperation between industrial branch and sector trade unions and trade union county councils should be further improved through coordinating joint tasks better, while observing both organizations' sphere of tasks and competence. The role of trade union county councils is growing stronger in fostering and supervising the implementation of resolutions, coordinating work and providing regional representation. It follows from this that the two organizations' dependence on each other, their support for each other's work, the representation of members and the protection of their interests to overcome the problems and tensions that arise, will further strengthen.

Institutional direction and leadership should be made simpler, organized and concentrated through enhancing the collective nature and democracy of leadership, while personal responsibility, greater attention and organizational force should be devoted to homogeneous interpretation of resolutions.

Leading trade union bodies should direct the work of the elected bodies, functionaries and apparatuses under their competence in a substantive manner and without formalities. They should ensure that the work of leadership and direction proceeds in a planned and organized manner and that information is prompt and accurage.

On every level of leadership, socialization, movement character, style and methods of trade union work should be further developed. Political work based on persuasion, example, explanation, criticism and recognition should be strengthened.

Revealing and considering the working people's opinion and mood during preparing and implementing the decision must be made an indispensable part of the work of leadership and direction. The ability to take the initiative, engage constructively in discussions and recognize, coordinate and express interests must be developed on every level, but particularly by basic organization functionaries and stewards.

C--Cadre work must be further improved, enhancing its systematic nature and democracy. Great attention must be devoted to deliberate selection, preparation and training of cadres and the development of their abilities. In selecting cadres, suitability, competence, initiative, courageous bearing, the ability to convince and the ability to size up a situation are fundamental requirements. The system, content and methods of cadre training must be developed according to these requirements.

The trade unions should support the continued education of young people, including talented young workers and peasants and should send as many young skilled workers as possible to high schools and universities. They should take the initiative in preparing suitable workers for leading positions.

D--Further developing the multifaceted information of the working people is a continuous task. More thorough information than previously should be provided to the working people on discussions between the SZOT and the government, joint conferences of the industrial branch and sector trade unions and the ministries, conferences of the trade union county councils and county council leaders, and discussions between directors and trade union committees. Open discussions, too, can be organized as early as in the preparatory phase on important issues affecting the working people. Discussion calling for the proposals and experiences of the masses strengthens the practice of socialist democracy and enhances the working people's activieness, readiness to act and sense of responsibility.

E-- Increased thrift should characterize the trade unions' economic activity in the coming period. The openness of the trade unions' economic activity demands that members be regularly informed about the purpose for which membership fees are expended. They should rely on the work of auditing committees regarding the social supervision of economic activity.

VI. The Hungarian Trade Unions Are Fulfilling Their Internationalist Obligations

Faithful to their traditions, the Hungarian trade unions should actively participate in the struggle of the working people of the world for peace, social progress, better living and working conditions and socialism. They should strive for and promote cooperation among trade unions representing different trends and strengthening their unity in action. They should be in solidarity with their class brothers, successfully accomplish our work of socialist construction and contribute personally to the struggle against oppressors.

A--In fostering our international relations, they should regard as decisive the strengthening of close friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries' trade unions. They should strive to make these relations more substantive and more extensively utilize the experiences that have been obtained. By joint effort, they should seek means to enhance the trade unions' role in building a socialist society and search for ways and means to more completely fulfill their increased tasks.

B--Fathful to internationalist traditions, they should accord multifaceted moral, political and material support to the developing countries' trade unions. They should strengthen their solidarity with the struggle of the developing countries' working people. They should enrich their relations with the advanced capitalist countries' trade unions, primarily in Europe. [paragraph continues]

They should continue bilateral and multilateral meetings and exchanges of views, and strive to develop common positions on issues that affect the working people's living and working conditions and issues that serve social progress.

The trade unions should acquaint the Hungarian working people with the events and main processes of international trade union life, and our country's participation in the international trade union movement.

C--They should participate with more vigor and initiative in the work of the WFTU and the international vocational federations. They should assume an active role in further developing these organizations' guidelines and working methods, and attaining jointly developed objectives. They should be in solidarity with all vocational, regional or international trade union acts that reflect the common interests of the working people of the world. In intergovernmental organizations--primarily in the ILO--they should continue their activity in representing the working people's interests, and support concerted action by the world trade unions in serving the working people's class interests.

The 24th congress concludes that the trade unions have accounted for rich years in terms of the elections and vocational congresses. The movement's position is fundamentally good; its strength and social appreciation have increased, and it is an increasingly active participant in exercising power and developing and implementing policy. The trade unions have obtained the complete support of their members and society in this activity. The results reflect the competent and devoted work, imbued by commitment to the cause of socialism, of functionaries and aktivists. They reflect the trust and readiness to act of 4.5 million members toward building a socialist society and creating the kind of life for which the trade unions and working people have always been struggling. The trade unions want to live up to this trust, this readiness to act, and the increasing requirements in the coming years also.

The responsibility of all our functionaries and aktivists increases in accomplishing the tasks facing the trade unions. We should see to it that functionaries personally feel the responsibility devolving on them. They should strive to win and retain their fellow workers' trust and respect. They should regard serving the working people as being close to their hearts. Fulfilling the expectations manifest at the elections should be a matter of conscience and honor for all trade union aktivists and functionaries. They should faithfully serve the cause and interests of the workers' class and their fellow workers. Through devoted work, all functionaries and aktivists should strive to fulfill the working people's trust and appreciation.

The congress expresses thanks for the work of all aktivists and functionaries, and expresses the hope that they can be counted on to accomplish the tasks facing the trade unions in the coming years also.

Budapest, 14 December 1980.

[Signed] The 24th Congress of the Hungarian Trade Unions.

WIDER WAGE DIFFERENTIALS ANNOUNCED FOR 1 JANUARY

LD291312 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 29 Dec (MTI)--The wage tariffs determined in 1977 no longer allow that workers who offer outstanding performances should be given corresponding basic salaries. In view of this, with effect Jan. 1, 1981 the minister of labour has modified the lowest and highest limit of the individual wage brackets by raising the average wage ceiling by 25 percent and the wage minimum by 8 percent. The extent of the rise depends on the nature of the work.

The wages of workers doing jobs that require special qualification or are working under especially hard conditions will be raised by a bigger margin than the average. It will thus be possible to give exceptional salaries to highly qualified skilled workers, foremen, technicians and economists in responsible positions. Together with modification of the basic wage system of the enterprisal employees, the rest of the basic wage systems will also be modified.

Extension of the wage brackets does not equal wage increase. Modification of the basic wage system only provides the conditions of more encouraging waging. A wage increase must be deserved, just like so far, with better enterprisal and individual performances. The new wage tariff makes it possible to raise the wages of those who work best with a bigger margin than what the rest get.

The companies must ensure the elvated minimum of the wage bracket from their won resources, latest till March 31, 1983. Greater requirements must be put to those workers who do not reach the now elevated bottom and their basic wage may be increased subject to fulfilment of those requirements. Those who are unable to fulfil even the minimum requirements in a given job must be removed and employed in another job. The new move eliminates the earlier practice when the compulsory wage increase of an unsatisfactorily working person took away the means of financial encouragement from a well-working colleague.

PARTY, TRADE UNION OFFICIAL MIKLOS SOMOGYI DIES

LD301152 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 30 Dec 80

[Excerpt] Budapest, 29 Dec (MTI)--Miklos Somogyi, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's Central Committee and the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, a prominent personality in the Hungarian labour movement, died December 28, it was announced on Monday in a joint communique of the HSWP CC, the CCHTU Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions and the Hungarian Partisans' Association.

BRIEFS

PRESS AGENCY AGREEMENT--General Directors Dr Erno Lakatos of the Hungarian News Agency and Andreas Berghold of AUSTRIA PRESSE AGENTUR signed the cooperation agreement of the two agencies in Vienna on Wednesday. On the strength of the stipulations of the new agreement, the relations of the two news agencies that have seen favourable development so far, will further develop in the editing, technical and organizational areas. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1753 GMT 17 Dec 80 LD]

TRADE WITH SFRY--The value of Hungarian-Yugoslav trade next year will reach $332 million--exceeding this year's trade by 20 percent. This figure is announced in the trade protocol between the two countries which was signed in Budapest by Janos Vas, and Borivoje Djordjevic, deputy federal secretary for foreign trade. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Dec 80 LD]

VEHICLE AGREEMENT WITH USSR--Mogurt, Hungarian foreign trade company, and its Soviet partner Autoexport have signed agreements worth over ten thousand million forints for the mutual delivery next year of various vehicles and components. The biggest item in the contracts is 6,450 Ikarus buses in return for which Hungary will get 24,000 cars, some 3,800 trucks and special vehicles. [Excerpt] [Budapest MTI in English 1041 GMT 23 Dec 80 LD]

JAGIELSKI, KISIEL HOLD ECONOMIC TALKS IN MOSCOW

LD292158 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Moscow, 29 Dec (PAP)--A Polish Government delegation headed by Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski arrived in Moscow today. Jagielski held talks with the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Ivan Arkhipov, and deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikolay Baybakov and Nikolay Talyzin.

The two sides discussed the prospects of the development of Polish-Soviet economic cooperation, with particular reference to the preparation of the Polish national plan for 1981. They also dealt with issues related to the conclusion of work on the coordination of the two countries' plans for the years 1981-1985.

Head of the Polish Government Planning Commission, Vice-Premier Henryk Kisiel, also took part in the talks.

LEADERS SEND CONDOLENCES ON KOSYGIN DEATH

AU291450 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Dec 80 p 1

[Message of condolences sent by Stanislaw Kania and Jozef Pinkowski to Leonid Brezhnev and Nikolay Tikhonov on Aleksey Kosygin's death]

[Text] To Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, in Moscow:

Dear comrades, in connection with the death of Comrade Aleksey Kosygin, an outstanding aktivist of the CPSU and former longstanding chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, we convey to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the fraternal Soviet people, expressions of profound sympathy.

Aleksey Kosygin, a faithful son of the CPSU, was wholly dedicated to the cause of his party and people as well as of communist building of the Soviet Union. He was also an ardent internationalist, a champion of strengthening the unity and promoting the cooperation of the fraternal countries of the socialist community and an advocate of peace and international cooperation.

Our country will remember Comrade Aleksey Kosygin as a spokesman for unshakable Polish-Soviet friendship and a man who has rendered great services in helping develop the comprehensive and mutually advantageous cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Union.

In this painful moment we join you in your mourning.

[Signed] Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Jozef Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

TRADE ACCORD FOR 1981 SIGNED WITH ROMANIA

AU291653 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Dec 80 pp 1,2

[PAP report: "Polish-Romanian Accord on Mutual Trade in Goods in 1981"]

[Text] According to the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Poland and Romania signed in Warsaw on 20 December a trade protocol on mutual supplies of goods in 1981.

The protocol provides for further increases in Polish-Romanian trade, which will amount to about 2.6 billion convertible zlotys and will thus be over 15 percent higher than this year's contracted trade.

Machinery, installations and rolling stock account for 53 percent of the general structure of trade.

Our main supplies to Romania include construction and road machines as well as machinery and equipment for mines, shipping, electrotechnical production, electronics, the chemical industry, the macine tool industry, the paper industry, the textile industry and the aviation industry.

The protocol provides for development of cooperation schemes concerning construction machinery and the automobile industry, and supplies of many raw and production materials. Romania will supply us with oil drilling gear, gantry cranes and spare parts, construction and road machines, machine tools for metal working, railroad engines, railroad cars, railroad cisterns as well as electrotechnical and electronic products, including subassemblies.

Spare parts for equipment supplied to us in past years (for example, for railroad rolling stock, construction and road machines, and automobiles) account for a large portion of imports of the aforementioned goods.

Raw materials, which account for about 34 percent of the value of mutual trade, include on our side such traditional export goods as sulfur, coking coal and metallurgical products. In exchange for those goods, Romania will supply us with oil and petrochemical products, mineral oils and greases, oil for transformers, carbon black, aluminum, semi-finished aluminum products and other metallurgical goods.

Market goods will account for a considerable portion of Polish-Romanian trade, as in previous years. Polish tape recorders, cassette recorders, record players and other market industrial goods will buy us Romanian tomatoes, grapes, peaches, paprika and processed vegetables. The supply of Dacia cars and pharmaceutical products will increase.

The protocol will make it possible to greatly expand Polish citizens' tourist trips to Romania in 1981 compared with this year.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETS TO DISCUSS ECONOMIC TASKS

LD292106 Warsaw PAP in English 2016 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Dec (PAP)--The Polish Council of Ministers met in session here today to discuss the state of preparation of the nation's economy for the implementation of next year's tasks, the first stage of a three-year programme to stabilize the economy and thus to help overcome the existing difficulties.

Stressing the significance of rational, thrifty management in the sphere of raw materials and use of all the production resources, the government obliged respective ministries to increase the supplies of agricultural means of production and urged the economic administration to inform the working personnel about the tasks of their respective enterprises.

The Council of Ministers also tackled the shorter work week, to be introduced on a wider scale in the coming year, and laid stress on the improvement of work organization and better use of the working hours in this connection.

The council also reviewed proposals for solving a number of social issues.

SEJM COMMITTEES EXAMINE 1981 PLAN, DRAFT BUDGET

LD291538 Warsaw PAP in English 1435 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Dec (PAP)--A provisional budget for the government has been adopted for the first quarter of 1981. Further debates on the full-scale plan and budget for next year--presented to the Sejm in a first reading on December 19--began in Sejm committees on December 22. They are to end on January 14.

On January 16, these issues will be discussed in inter-committee problems groups. Three days later, the economic plan, budget and finance committee will take over the problem. The committee's conclusions will then be presented to the Sejm, which will take a final standpoint as to the government's concepts in the field.

The present budget version provides for an increase in expenditures for the health service, education and culture. In accord with the deputies' wish, the plan's main social aim is the protection of the level of consumption of the lowest-income social groups and families and shaping the consumption level of the remaining social groups as best possible.

In an interview for PAP, Deputy Zbigniew Gertych said that there is a new style in cooperation between the Sejm and its committees on the one hand and the government on the other hand in drawing up the plan and budget. A characteristic feature of our cooperation, said the deputy, is a great deal of openness. Every problem is discussed, including those which were even hidden from deputies' eyes before.

The provisions of the government proposals concerning the plan and budget were presented in the Sejm. It was not possible to balance the 1981 budget to a satisfactory degree. Expenses will be greater than incomes and it will be necessary to draw on our reserves. Saving will also be called for. The prospects for coming out of the present difficult situation depend on economic reform and production growth. These problems will doubtless be in the mainstream of Sejm debates in the coming weeks.

NEW SEJM COMMITTEE CREATED FOR CITIZEN COMPLAINTS

LD291536 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Dec (PAP)--A new Sejm Committee for Citizens' Complaints and Proposals has been set up. In the past 7th legislative term, citizens sent in almost 90,000 complaints and proposals to the Sejm and its deputies in provincial towns and the countryside. In the current term since last April some 7,500 letters--excluding those addressed to voivodship teams of deputies--have been sent in to parliament. These include 3,300 letters received in November till mid-December.

Mr Witold Zakrzewski, professor of the Jagiellonian University, who is chairman of this committee told PAP that the committee will analuze how the state organs, state administration units and social organizations study and make use of complaints and proposals to improve their activity. One of the main tasks of this committee will be to inspire the entire system of control functioning in the Sejm, people's councils and the administration to ensure that system of complaints and proposals is effective.

The Committee for Complaints and Proposals increased the number of the Sejm committees to 23.

COMMISSION ON LAW REFORM HOLDS FIRST PLENUM

LD270010 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Summary from poor reception] Warsaw, 26 Dec (PAP)--The first plenary session of the Commission to Examine Changes in the Criminal Law following the 14 November 1980 decision of the Ministry of Justice has taken place. The main directions of the new law have been discussed. The discussion took into account the need to include in the criminal law a list of penalties not involving restriction of freedom and their application on a wider scale. This would make it possible to take into account the individual characteristics of the offenders and the nature of their offenses.

The participants in the plenary session believe it is necessary to alter the principles of sentencing criminals, regarding the basis for and the procedure of using coercion and especially preliminary arrest and detention. It was pointed out it is necessary to make changes in the competence of courts in order to give more power to provincial and district courts in dealing with serious crimes. This would enable the Surpeme Court to concentrate more on activities connected with the laying down of norms and the interpretation of law.

TRADE UNION COMMISSION VIEWS FOOD RATIONING

LD290730 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] The Coordinating Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions announced its stance on food rationing. Supporting temporary food rationing, it stated that the proposals made so far on the rationing of meat and fats do not come up to social expectations. Attention is drawn to the fact that the government has not presented an overall program for improving supplies of foodstuffs to the population. The only thing that has been presented is a draft for sharing meat and fats without defining the period during which they will be rationed. In the view of the Coordinating Commission, the meat rationing proposal should be based on a thorough analysis of the overall balance of food supplies in the domestic market. This problem cannot be examined without taking into account the possibility of supplying the population with other foodstuffs, particularly protein substitutes. The commission also stated that it must be assumed that rationing is being introduced for a strictly limited period, for instance one quarter, after which an assessment will be made of how the adopted system is functioning.

Further Report

LD292048 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Excerpts] The Coordinating Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions has announced its stance on food rationing.

Shortages of meat and meat products must be supplemented by such products as cereals, flour, potatoes, macaroni, eggs, cheese or fish. The commission deems it essential to exclude from rationing: poultry, giblets and meat products which contain less than 30 percent of meat in them. The rationing system should give preference to children, young people, pregnant women and nursing mothers. The workers who also own land and work on it should be treated just as other workers. The rationing should include no fats except butter. The commission stresses in its statement that it is necessary to ensure decisively that the correct quality of meat products is attained so that they are not wasted.

MINISTERS REPORTEDLY HAVE TALKS WITH WALESA

NC292019 Paris AFP in English 2007 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Dec (AFP)--Polish Foreign Minister Josef Czyrek and Heavy Industry Minister Andrzej Jedynak today met with Lech Walesa, president of the Polish independent trade union Solidarity, it was learned here.

There was no official indication about the nature of the talks.

But well-informed sources said that Mr Czyrek wanted to meet with Mr Walesa before the latter went to Rome in mid-January at the invitation of Pope John Paul 'I and Italian trade unions groups.

There were indications that Mr Czyrek may also have discussed his meeting Friday in Moscow with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

FRENCH UNION LEADER ARRIVES, MET BY WALESA

LD291516 Paris Domestic Service in French 1300 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Edmond Maire is in Warsaw for 2 days. He arrived at Warsaw airport a short while ago, and Lech Walesa was there to welcome the CFDT [French Democratic Federation of Labor] leader.

The French delegation is now on its way to the Warszawa steelworks where its members are due to meet a group of shop stewards from various workshops.

Tomorrow, Edmond Maire is due to go to Gdansk and lay a wreath at the monument erected in memory of the workers killed during the 1970 events. Edmond Maire will afterward have talks with Lech Walesa at the Solidarity premises in the Gdansk suburbs.

FARMERS DEMONSTRATE OUTSIDE SUPREME COURT FOR UNION

NC301021 Paris AFP in English 1117 GMT 30 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Dec (AFP)--About 1,000 Polish private farmers gathered early today outside a Supreme Court here which was to rule on the farmers' appeal of earlier court decisions rejecting their applications to form an independent trade union, "Rural Solidarity".

As some 30 militia men controlled traffic, an unidentified union representative told the crowd that he was denied access to the courtroom.

"This is a sign of the climate surrounding the registration of our union," he said.

The demonstrators, responding to their leaders' call for a mass rally, carried flags of their union, Poland and the independent trade union Solidarity.

They also had placards bearing such slogans as: "We have enough power to feed the nation", "Rural Solidarity so that there will be bread", and "Rural Solidarity to guarantee a fresh start".

Twice in recent weeks, administrative courts have turned down applications to register the new farmers' union on the grounds that landowners cannot be members of trade unions.

The farmers have also threatened to withhold their produce from the state if their demands to form a union are not met.

WRITERS UNION CONGRESS OPENS, TEJCHMA SPEAKS

LD291136 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Dec (PAP)--The 21st congress of the Polish Writers' Union opened here today. 137 delegates are representing the 1,300 members of the association. The delegates will discuss problems related to the present situation and the further development of Polish literature and culture. They will elect a new president and main board of the union.

Addressing the delegates tonight the minister of culture and art, Josef Tejchma, stressed that the present situation in Poland brings to the foreground first of all general issues, as overcoming the critical situation in Poland is the prerequisite for the examination of other issues, including culture.

Minister Tejchma said that in the whole process of correcting the roads of socialist development special attention must be paid to ensuring a correspondence between the professed role of culture in the nation's life and the actual prospects for its development and propagation. That spells increased expenditure on culture in the distribution of the national income. Already next year the first steps will be taken to improve the situation in book publishing, which now faces an unprecedented crisis. After the war the book became a symbol of the revolution in culture, now it is a symbol of negligence.

The broad limits of creative freedoms will be preserved, but I have used the word "limits" deliberately, to treat the policy of freedom in literature realistically, Minister Tejchma observed. It must be remembered that there will be no freedom for the extreme nihilistic and negation trends, or for pseudo-literary propaganda brochures of no artistic value. Within those limits, great literature can function as a barometer of important social and individual issues, a signal of approaching unrest, a testimony of the values which have acquired a lasting character in the main current of the nation's intellectual life.

Honest criticism should accompany the creation of culture, so that by way of arguments we learn which elements of culture, which of its ideological, moral and philosophical values function in art and which deserve the greatest attention from the viewpoint of the development of the humanistic foundations of the nation's life, the minister said.

On behalf of the Consultative Committee of Creative and Scientific Associations, sincere greetings were conveyed to the congress by head of the committee Professor Klemens Szaniawski and on behalf of Solidarnosc, by deputy head of its Mazowsze branch Seweryn Jaworski.

WALESA HOLDS GDANSK PRESS CONFERENCE 17 DEC

LD181532 Warsaw PAP in English 1425 GMT 18 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Dec (PAP)--What Poland needs at the moment is peace, Lech Walesa, chairman of the Solidarnosc National Coordination Commission, told a news conference in Gdansk yesterday, as reported by TRYBUNA LUDU today.

Whether the peace is maintained will depend on Solidarnosc members and on the union's freedom of action within its statue, Walesa said.

People are fed up with strikes, and the ultimate resort as they are, strikes should not be staged for any--often trifle--reason, he charged. We seek to settle all our problems through negotiations, he added.

"We are looking forward to the announced economic reform and we will approach it as Poles. In case it clearly specifies the interest of every employee, everybody will strive to produce more," Walesa said, adding: "I know that we would not get the country out of the crisis with strikes." Making a reference to the changes in the methods of management currently being introduced in Poland, Walesa voiced support for the idea of strengthening the role of workers' councils and expanding their share in the responsibility for better work. Solidarnosc links in factories and plants should take an active part in such activities, he declared.

Speaking of the union's internal problems, Walesa said effective organization of the union's links and working out a programme of activities are the key tasks at the moment.

Walesa said there is need for settling the relations among all union organizations currently operating in Poland, the branch unions included.

PZPR AIDE KOCIOLEK RECALLS 1970 GDANSK EVENTS, ROLE

LD291105 Brussels LE SOIR in French 19 Dec 80 p 3

[Claude de Groulart interview with Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Kociolek in Warsaw: "Kociolek, Former Hard-Liner in Gdansk in 1970 and Former Ambassador to Brussels, Talks Freely About His Past"--no date given]

[Text] Following the poignant ceremony in Gdansk, commemorations were held this Wednesday [17 December] in the two other main cities of the Polish Baltic Coast, Gdynia and Szczecin, in memory of the workers who fell in those cities during the events which steeped the region in blood 10 years ago. Deputy Premier Jagielski's presence was noted at Wednesday's ceremonies. This painful anniversary has highlighted the name of a man whom the Belgians had the opportunity to know for 6 years when he represented Poland as ambassador to Brussels. This is Stanislaw Kociolek, who, as deputy premier at the time of the "events," had been sent to the Baltic to try--in vain--to restore calm. Our special enjoy Claude de Groulart met him in his present capacity as communist party first secretary for the Warsaw Voivodship. We are publishing, without comment, the remarks made by Mr Kociolek--whose return to public life caused rather a stir--on the tragedy in which he was one of the main protagonists.

We visited him in the big and rather ugly building which houses the party committee for the Warsaw Voivodship. We crossed the last networks of corridors, halls and anterooms separating us from the comrade first secretary. We entered a huge and comfortable office which, in this country where housing is rationed, enabled us to gauge the "surface" of its master. "Pleased to see you!" He looked as if he meant it. His handshake was still strong and powerful. Stanislaw Kociolek has kept the jovial urbanity which he showed in Brussels in his capacity as ambassador. He has also kept the same volubility. We had difficulty in asking questions. It did not matter since he immediately launched into an interesting subject: the party and Kociolek's role in the party.

"I Did What I Could..."

"This is a decisive time: We are playing double or nothing. This is the last chance. It is difficult but exciting. I would like to talk about contact with the grassroots. People are becoming involved. The workers are demanding that heads roll; sometimes unjustly, as in Gierek's case, forgetting rather too quickly that he nonetheless had positive achievements to his credit."

He gesticulated as he spoke, constantly wriggling in an armchair from which he suddenly leaped up to start playing with the electronic gadgets on his desk.

"It is true that the party has been shaken. So much the better. It must learn to become a political party, in other words a place of democratic discussion where society's main directions are drawn up. It must stop keeping all the powers for itself, notably powers which belong to enterprises, the administration, parliament and the government....The party is being tested, as is the country, and as I am."

Indeed, Stanislaw Kociolek, number one in Warsaw, is not a Politburo member, and this situation breaks with a well-established tradition. It ought only to take "a few months or a few weeks," he said with a reassuring gesture, "provided of course I am accepted in the position with which I have been entrusted. If I fail I will not try to hang on. I have demonstrated that more than once. Look, the last time was as leader of the Warsaw cooperatives. I was enclosed in a bureaucratic straitjacket. I decided to leave...." He left for a new embassy, in Tunisia on that occasion.

This communist manager is in favor of rotating managing directors, as in a private enterprise which functions well. However, Mr Kociolek did not misfire in Tunis. The party recalled him to face a new and daunting fight. I did not dare ask him, as the Gdansk weekly TIME [LE TEMPS] has done: "Is your return a provocation or a political maneuver?"

Furthermore that is a fine example of the success with which the press now sometimes questions the government.

What was the point of the polite paraphrase which I stammered out. He was expecting the question. He went over the general outline of his interview with TIME [LE TEMPS]. He again recalled the tragic end to 1970, the year of disgrace when he, Deputy Premier Kociolek, was delegated by the government to restore calm in Gdansk.

He pleaded guilty in a way, like the heroes in ancient tragedies to whom the gods assign a destiny for which they hold them responsible. He also pointed to mistakes. He recalled that Gomulka had just imposed a veritable economic diktat on the population by increasing food prices to staggering levels just a few days before the year end celebrations. "I did not think that the decision was fair," he said. "I did not have enough contact with the working class." It is true that he was not alone.

Then the tragedy happened. The workers took to the streets. Uncontrolled elements looted and set fire to buildings--the party headquarters of course and stores too. In the evening of 15 December Kociolek thought he had defused the situation by calling on the workers to go back to work the next day. Unfortunately, outside the factory gates the police opened fire. The workers fell, dozens according to official reports, hundreds in fact, from what people say.

What happened?

Now, 10 years later, Stanislaw Kociolek said he does not really know. "Everything was out of my hands. The general staff was operating in its own way, there was a meeting at a command post, I do not know where. In Warsaw the government took its own decisions." Nonetheless he, Kociolek, succeeded in preventing the worst from happening when, after the shootings, he opposed a "suggestion" by the military who quite simply wanted to invade the workers' quarters and deport the population to quarters outside the city. When, late in the evening of 15 December, he learned of the orders the police had been given, he said he did what he could. "I sent party members to ask people not to go out. I broadcast the same appeal on loudspeakers in some public places. But alas...!"

I asked him a question which did not feature in the interview:

"Why then did you praise the police 3 weeks later?"

His face clouded a little. "A distinction must be drawn here. Before the shootings the police had done their duty. They had opposed the looting and arson. It was only to that aspect of their action that I paid tribute. After that I resigned. My position was no longer tenable, morally or politically."

Will many Baltic workers, witnesses or victims of the events, accept that subtle distinction? The initial indignant reactions which followed his return give grounds for skepticism....Nonetheless he was not really caught out by any question either about the past or the present. He says his conscience is clear and his hands clean. He has already explained himself and will do so again. He agreed with me that in this whole story as in so many other cases it was the way in which the system functioned which was dubious.

However, he is confident. That will not happen again. The party has promised that.... Will things go right this time? In any case he, Kociolek, will do his best. He is a strange man. He refused an invitation to lunch because he did not have time and had just granted us a 2-hour interview. We asked Kociolek whether there will be a new policy? He hopes so. At least there will be a new style. That is certain.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI COMMENTS ON 1970 GDANSK EVENTS

AU291331 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Dec 80 p 2

[Editorial: "The 1970 December Anniversary--Memory and Lessons"]

[Text] The functions to mark the 10th anniversary of the December events took place in a solemn and calm mood, proof of high social and civic responsibility. We want to share with our readers our reflections and to stress some thoughts and ideas published on the subject so far.

National histories know of many tragic events and dramas. Our national history is not free of them. However, the Gdansk drama is especially painful for us because it should not have happened, because it denied the inner logic and very nature of the socialist system and the people's state.

Nevertheless, the Gdansk drama took place...

Let us recall: On 12 December 1970 food price increaes were announced, which caused the people's great dissatisfaction. The old simmering moods, which had been created by the worsening economic situation, neglect in social policy and the increased costs of living, were responsible for the fact that the protest was widespread and assumed a grave character.

The events in question bagan in the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk on 14 December and then spread to other factories in many coastal towns, assuming the nature of workers strikes and demonstration as well as creating economic and social demands. The authorities evaluated the events in a one-sided manner which was bound to influence decisions and responses. Opportunities to reach agreement with workers were not used in good time.

It is true that, aware of its Marxist-Leninist principles, the party mustered enough strength within a few days to concede its errors and to draw the necessary conclusions, thus creating premises to solve the crisis.

However, before that could be done, the events spread like wildfire and the people took to the streets, which was responsible for the fact that anarchic and destructive elements appeared and spread dangerously at the side of the main stream of the workers' protest. For example, as M.F. Rakowski writes (in his article "The December Crisis," POLITYKA issue 50 of 13 December 1980): "The demonstrators were joined by elements bent on destruction and that infected the demonstrations with unusual aggressiveness. Nor was there any lack of people seeking sensationalism. Cars were set afire and the buildings of the voivodship people's council and militia headquarters were attacked. When the attackers had been repulsed by militia units, some 20,000 people gathered in the vicinity of the neighboring buildings of the PZPR Voivodship Committee and the main railroad depot. The PZPR building was attacked with stones and bottles filled with gasoline and was soon set on fire. Several militia, fire service and communications vehicles as well a number of other buildings, including the main railroad depot and the headquarters of the chief technical organization (they were completely gutted), were set on fire. Between 10 and 20 shops were demolished and plundered. The intensifying tumult claimed its first fatality--a militiaman. Both sides had many wounded."

At that stage of events, when chaos and disorganization kept on increasing, the forces of order were reinforced and troops were brought in, which was a very dramatic measure. Nevertheless, in the face of social threat, it helped halt the destructive events, which could have taken a most catastrophic turn. What was most regrettable in the face of the turmoil of those days was the cases in which bloodshed and victims were results of tragic misunderstandings and confrontations.

The soldiers of the military units that had been sent in were placed in an extremely difficult situation by the fact that they were ordered to assist the forces of order. [paragraph continues]

That was because no issue is more complicated morally and politically than the issue of using soldiers of the socialist army to intervene in a domestic social conflict. Our armed forces have always been trained to remember that the service for the people and work for the country are their highest duty and that cordial ties with the workers class and the working people are the sources of their strength. That conviction and the situation in which our soldiers found themselves imparted a profound inner drama to their activities.

Acting in keeping with various "safeguards" and restructions, the troops showed self-control even under conditions of great pressure and attacks, including the destruction of and damage to their equipment and setting tanks, transports and other military vehicles on fire. It is easy to imagine what could have happened if those weapons had been used. That is why, as the eighth PZPR plenum noted in February 1971, the troops behaved with great discipline and prudence and sought to avoid anything that could have resulted in incalculably greater and even more tragic consequences.

Together with the entire party and all the people, our soldiers are having earnest thoughts about the events of 10 years ago. The central functions in Gdansk to mark those events were attended by representatives of our armed forces, a guard of honor and the navy band. That attendance was not merely formal and ceremonial. Our soldiers had the moral right to be there because they had experienced that December drama most painfully, they had suffered losses and they had also been moral victims of that tragic tangle of events.

The apparatus of political power in our country belongs to the workers class and the working masses and our armed forces are our people's armed forces. We do not want to and we cannot dismiss out of hand such social conflicts as is the case in the countries in which power is held by representatives of the exploiting classes. We know so many facts from between the wars when very many people lost their lives and still many more were incarcerated for many years because they fought for their daily bread, for the right that took place within a society that was torn by deep class conflicts. What is more, the authorities at that time were far from self-critical reflection and saw force as their basic argument. On the other hand, the class nature of people's power presupposes that social conflicts are regarded as a state that is profoundly at odds with the principles of the socialist state and that, therefore, they require penetrating analyses and correct and ultimate conclusions for the future. Our party was courageous in making such analyses and drew unequivocal conclusions, especially at its sixth and seventh plenums.

Obeying the will of the party and the people's power, the Polish People's Armed Forces serve their people from day to day and help unite them on the basis of socialist statehood. That is why they fully support the goals and measures of socialist renewal which is the basic premise of the harmonious development of our society and country. That is also why we will resolutely oppose all those forces who might try to turn the tragedy of December 1970 into a weapon against the party, the people's power, socialism and, in fact, against Poland's national interests, which are indisolubly linked to socialism. In that context we should add that the experience of the December events shows most clearly what dangerous situations can be created by uncontrolled emotions and, especially, by the resulting anarchy and disarray, which may lead to tragic violations of social order and to dangers to life and property. They can also endanger the state. In view of such threats no one who really cares for People's Poland can be ever indifferent to the task of building and strengthening the patriotic alliance of the forces of prudence and responsibility.

For us soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces the evaluation presented at the seventh PZPR plenum constitutes a practical guideline as to how to view December 1970. We share and understand it well. We remember and always will remember the instructions of that difficult and dramatic lesson concerning the future, concerning the ties with the people, concerning the efforts to strengthen the country's peace and seucirty and concerning the favorable building of socialist Poland.

OLSZOWSKI, ZABINSKI ATTEND KATOWICE PARTY MEETING

LD292020 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] The PZPR voivodship committee in Katowice met in plenary session today. The discussion was devoted to the main problems of socioeconomic life and the tasks of the voivodship party organization in the preparatory period for the ninth congress. The plenum was attended by Stefan Olszowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Andrzej Zabinski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee.

Olszowski Address

LD292102 Warsaw PAP in English 2019 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Dec (PAP)--At a meeting of the Katowice Voivodship Committee of the PUWP, member of the political bureau, secretary of the PUWP CC Stefan Olszowski announced that a draft of an economic reform will be made public early in January.

It is a comprehensive proposal to deal with all of the economy, from the central to enterprise level. It draws on Polish experiences and those of other socialist countries and features alternative solutions to many problems. A consistent and full implementation of the reform is aimed at developing a system and mechanisms for the functioning of the economy which will be conducive to the development of self-management and higher efficiency of management.

Olszowski stressed that social goals have been assigned priority significance in the plan for next year. He also mentioned a task which is the most important for Katowice Voivodship--that of raising the production of coal and fully meeting the demand of the economy for the fuel. Social problems will also come in the wake of curbing the investment level next year, problems such as how to make proper use of skilled personnel employed at industrial building sites, Olszowski said.

APPOINTMENT OF NEW VOIVODA OF KATOWICE REPORTED

LD242230 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] On the advice of the Katowice Voivodship People's Council, the chairman of the council of ministers has appointed Henryk (Lichos) as voivoda of Katowice Voivodship. Henryk (Lichos) holds a degree in economics and has been, for some 15 years, the director of the Katowice delegate's Supreme Chamber of Control.

At the same time the chairman of the state council has recalled Zdzislaw Legomski from the post of Katowice voivoda.

BRIEFS

NEW VICE MINISTER--The chairman of the council of ministers has appointed Prof Dr Zdzislaw Grochowski undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Agriculture. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Dec 80 p 2 AU]

CZESTOCHOWA VOIVODSHIP CHANGE--The premier has released Miroslaw Wierzbicki from the post of Czestochowa voivoda at his own request. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Dec 80 p 2 AU]

SIERADZ VOIVODSHIP CHANGE--The 27 November session of the voivodship people's council in Sieradz accepted the resignation of Tadeusz Stasiak, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Sieradz, from the post of chairman of the Sieradz Voivodship People's Council and appointed Kazimierz Stronczynski in his place. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Nov 80 p 2 AU]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES ROME INSTITUTE AWARD IN BUCHAREST

AU232141 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Dec (AGERPRES)--A ceremony took place in Bucharest on December 23, when President Nicolae Ceausescu was handed over the special gold medal "Leonardo da Vinci", first class, together with the plaquette and gold medals issued on the 15th anniversary of the Institute of International Relations of Rome.

Within the same ceremony, Elena Ceausescu was conferred in behalf of the Institute of International Relations of Rome, the gold medal "Marie Curie" and the jubilee gold medals of the institute.

The ceremony was attended by Premier Ilie Verdet, by other members of the party and state leadership, as well as by representatives of scientific life of Romania.

The members of the delegation of the Institute of International Relations of Rome who have come to Bucharest to confer the high distinctions were present. Ernesto Mario Bolasco, Italy's ambassador in Bucharest, attended.

The distinguished guests were introduced to the president by Mihnea Gheorghiu, president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, chairman of the National Centre for the Promotion of Friendship and Collaboration Among Peoples.

Homage-paying addresses were made by Dr Giovanni Battista Bonelli, president of the Institute of International Relations of Rome, Senator Alfonso Tanga, Professor Antonino Barone, director of the news agency for international relations, director of the "Barone" publishing house, Professor Dr Giancarlo Elia Valori.

The high distinctions were handed over by Giancarlo Elia Valori, secretary general of the Institute of International Relations of Rome. The Romanian president was also handed over a book put out in Italian by the Barone publishers, suggestively entitled "A Diplomacy for Peace, the Contribution of Romania, of President Ceausescu to Security and Cooperation in Europe". President Nicolae Ceausescu made an address at the ceremony.

Ceausescu Address

AU300841 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Dec 80 pp 1, 3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 23 December Bucharest ceremony at which he was awarded the "Leonardo da Vinci" medal by the Institute of International Relations of Rome]

[Text] Mr President of the Institute of International Relations, gentlemen, comrades.

I want to express most sincere thanks for the medals awarded to me today on the occasion of your institute's 15th anniversary. I view them as an expression of the relations of friendship and multifaceted cooperation between the Romanian and Italian peoples, of their active cooperation to achieve a policy of detente, peace and national independence.

The international situation is extremely tense at present. Recent actions and conflicts are threatening peace and peoples' independence, as well as their socioeconomic development.

Amid these particularly complex international circumstances, various forces and peoples are speaking out for easing tension, for continuing detente, for general and primarily nuclear disarmament, for solving the problems of underdevelopment and establishing a new world economic order, for a policy based on full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninteference in internal affairs and mutually advantageous cooperation, and on utter renunciation of the use and threat of force in international life.

The Romanian people are concentrating their forces on socioeconomic development and on building a comprehensively developed socialist society, which will permit them broad access to scientific and cultural achievements, continuous increase in their material and intellectual well-being, active participation in the international division of labor and in international exchanges and complete realization of their potential and of the humanitarianism that characterizes them. Our people want to cooperate with all nations, regardless of social system; like the Italian and other peoples, they are interested in a policy of detente and peace. That is why we strive to contribute to that policy, which is in fact the only alternative to a war policy, which would only destroy the wonderful achievements of civilization, would plunge mankind into darkness and would put in question the very development of mankind. Hence, we believe that every possible effort must be made to halt the accentuation of tension and to settle all international problems solely through political negotiations--this being valid for all conflicts, which I shall not now enumerate.

We attach great importance to the Madrid meeting. As is known, there have been many difficulties and obstacles at the meeting. At one point it was doubtful whether the conference could begin at all. We are very happy that reason triumphed and the Madrid conference could be opened. The atmosphere of the proceedings of the first part of the meeting gradually grew more constructive. This fact allows us to hope that the meeting will be successful and that additional steps will be made toward security and cooperation in Europe. As far as we are concerned, we hope for and will do our utmost to conduct the proceedings in a businesslike spirit of responsibility for the interests of the European and all other peoples, so that the conference can produce the most positive possible results, particularly in asserting firm support for the Helsinki documents and the determinatin of all participating states to consistently implement them. We hope that agreement will be reached on a conference devoted to trust and disarmament in Europe. We are also resolutely in favor of a followup meeting--as is known Romania offered to host the next meeting in Bucharest. We also hope that the Madrid meeting will adopt additional measures toward economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation and toward closer contacts among peoples, because only thus will the European peoples be in a position to become better acquainted and to expand their cooperation. Only thus will we gradually achieve a united Europe and end the continent's division into military and even economic blocs. We, the European countries must make every effort for Europe to remain--and become--a powerful and united continent, profoundly devoted to the principles of humanitarianism, peace, social equality and justice, and independence for each nation.

We must strive to facilitate negotiations to halt the deployment and development of new nuclear missiles in Europe and to attain positive results at such negotiations. We must endeavor to halt the deployment of additional nuclear missiles and weapons in Europe in general, because as it is there are too many weapons on our continent. We must firmly pledge to work to halt the arms race, to gradually cut back weapons and adopt measures to stop military spending. The financial and material resources made available by cutting such spending should be used for social purposes, for the socioeconomic development and well-being of the peoples, and for helping developing countries.

Even a cursory analysis of the world economic situation and deepening crisis--and as you know, prospects for the coming year are rather pessimistic to say the least--will show that the arms race and enormous military expenditures are in good part responsible for this situation. In fact, it can be stated that military spending has reached a level that makes it an increasingly heavy burden, a burden that some peoples can no longer bear. Hence, it is in the interests of peace, of each people's well-being and socioeconomic development and of international economic cooperation to make every possible effort to halt the arms race.

In this spirit we hope to continue cooperating actively with all countries in the future. I want to mention the fruitful economic cooperation between Romania and Italy and the fruitful political cooperation between our governments and countries aimed at attaining the above goals. In this connection I want to emphasize the important contribution made by your institute--the Institute for International Relations--to developing this cooperation and promoting a policy of cooperation and friendship between our peoples and a policy of peace and detente in Europe and throughout the world. You can rest assured that you will always find strong support in Romania and in the Romanian people. Our people will intensively militate for a policy of peace and detente, for national independence.

As you see, I keep coming back to the policy of national independence. This is due to the fact that, in the current international circumstances, respect for national independence is essential for a policy of detente and peace. National development is inconceivable in the absence of national independence, and we must state that the growing tension poses a threat to national independence. Hence, our international activities must be permanently marked by struggle to enforce respect for the peoples' rights and freedom, and to permit each nation to organize its life freely, in accordance with its wishes, without any foreign interference.

Although the international situation is complex, we are firmly convinced that the peoples, advanced and progressive forces everywhere, realistic politicians and organizations of all kinds, working in increasingly close cooperation, will be capable of easing international tension, will bring about negotiations to settle conflicts, and will resume the policy of detente, peace and national independence.

With this, I want to once again thank you for these awards and to express my wishes for fruitful cooperation between our peoples, for the triumph of the policy of wisdom and responsibility for civilization and for mankind's fate, for peace and national independence.

I thank you. (lively applause)

CEAUSESCU, PCE'S CARRILLO BEGIN TALKS IN BUCHAREST

AU291830 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Talks began in Bucharest today between RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Spanish Communist Party [PCE] Secretary General Comrade Santiago Carrillo, who is on a friendly visit to our country at the invitation of the RCP secretary general. The meeting was attended by Comrade Jaime Balistero, member of the Executive Committee and secretary of the PCE Central Committee.

Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Santiago Carrillo expressed pleasure at meeting again and continuing their frank and friendly dialogue on matters of common interest. They briefed each other on the activities and interests of the RCP and PCE, and exchanged detailed views on aspects of the development of relations between the two communist parties, of recent political events and of the international communist and workers movement. The talks are proceeding in an atmosphere of warm, comradely friendship and mutual respect, characteristic of the relations between the RCP and PCE and between the two party leaders.

DOUBLE TAXATION CONVENTION WITH CANADA EXCHANGED

AU291655 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Instruments of ratification were exchanged today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the Romanian-Canadian governmental convention on avoiding double taxation on income and property.

MUSLIM DELEGATION VISITS LIBYA 16-24 DECEMBER

AU242217 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Tripoli, 24 Dec (AGERPRES)--A delegation of the Muslim denomination of Romania, led by Grand Mufti Yacub Mehmet, paid a visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, over December 16-24. The delegation had talks with Abu-Zayd 'Umar Durdah, secretary of the General People's Committee for Economy, (Ahmed Buseta), chief assistant secretary of the Bureau for Foreign Affairs of the General People's Congress, and other Libyan state personalities.

During the talks the good relations of friendship between the two countries were recalled as well as the perspective of their development in the light of the decisions made and agreements concluded by Nicolae Ceausescu and Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi.

The delegation also conducted talks with (Rageab Sassi), religious adviser with Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi's cabinet, Muhammad Ahmad ash-Sharif, minister, secretary general of the organization "the Islamic appeal", with (Taher az-Zawi), chief mufti of Libya , and with other religious officials. The program also included sightseeing of some social and cultural institutions of the Libyan Jamahiriyah.

OLTEANU GREETS VIETNAM ON PEOPLE'S ARMY DAY

OW241601 Hanoi VNA in English 1534 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Hanoi, VNA, December 24--General Van Tien Dung, minister of national defence, has received a message from Major General Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania, greeting the 36th founding anniversary of the Vietnam People's Army.

The message said: "On this occasion, the Romanian combatants wish all officers and combatants of the Vietnam People's Army still greater successes in perfecting military training and increasing the combat strength of its various armed services."

It wished General Van Tien Dung further success in raising the defence capabilities and developing the revolutionary gains of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

CEAUSESCU VISITS BUILDING MATERIALS EXHIBITION

AU242221 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1935 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Dec (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu analyzed on December 24, within an exhibition arranged in Bucharest, in the company of executives of economic ministries and other central bodies, of experts, the progress of the drive for typification of the building materials and building and installation elements.

The president was accompanied by Premier Ilie Verdet and by other members of the party and state leadership.

At the exhibition, where the working talk took place, the latest results scored in the typification of the products meant for the investments objectives were presented. During the visit, the president was told that the experts joined their efforts with a view to cutting down the number of materials meant for the investments works, to expanding the use of standard designs which allow for the reduction to a minimum of the consumption of materials and of the building and assembly expenditures, to seeking out solutions to ensure the lesser or no use at all of energy-intensive products and the wide-scale use of local resources.

The typification drive was shown to have resulted, to the date, in a reduction of the types of materials and elements of constructions and installations from over 11,000 to some 970. The estimations show that this will result over the 1981-1985 quinquennium in an eight percent reduction of the value of constructions a some 26 percent reduction of metal consumption, some 20 percent of the cement consumption and an important reduction of consumptions with other building materials.

Assessing the efficiency of the drive for the typification of building materials and of designs, Nicolae Ceausescu showed that in many branches of our industry a large number of types and dimensions were still maintained and asked for more resolved action for restricting the kinds of articles meant for this important branch.

An important place in the exhibition was held by the results scored in the typification drive in forestry and the building materials industry. Presented was a diverse range of new products, of lower production costs, that successfully replace the more expensive ones.

Stressing the need of reducing further the investment expenditure, of making wider-scale use of the materials resulted from local resources, Nicolae Ceausescu asked the People's Councils to take measures for producing at a local level the brick for houses and for the agricultural construction.

With a view to a most rational and efficient employment of the energy resources, Nicolae Ceausescu recommended that the heating with stoves should burn coal and other lower fuels should be considered on making the design of and building dwellings for smaller localities. It was demanded that wood be employed in higher sense of responsibility in the buildings of all kinds.

Highlighting the successes scored so far, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that big possibilities are still at hand for the improvement of the typification also in other industrial branches--metallurgy, chemistry, machine-building, power engineering.

In the working dialogue, widely discussed was the question of the ashes resulting from the thermo-electric power stations, which make a raw material in large amounts and has to be properly used in the building materials industry.

Nicolae Ceausescu requested the experts to see to the wide-scale use of bricks, of blocks made out of ashes as substitutes of the traditional products for walls and other structures.

The party's general secretary demanded the drawing up the soonest of a special program comprising measures to provide conditions for the full truning to use of ashes. At the same time he requested the experts to seek out modalities of capitalization also of the slags coming from steel works and foundries.

HUNGARIAN, GERMAN NATIONALITY COUNCILS HOLD PLENUMS

Hungarians Meet

AU262110 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Dec (AGERPRES)--The plenary meeting of the Council of Working People of Magyar Nationality of Romania, which debated the tasks devolving upon the council in mobilizing the Magyar nationality working people to exemplarily fulfill the single national plan of socioeconomic development of Romania in 1981, took place in Bucharest, on December 26.

The works of the plenary meeting were inaugurated by Mihai Gere, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Council of Working People of Magyar Nationality.

The report delivered and the debates pointed to the successes scored by the working people in Romania--Romanians, Magyars, Germans and other nationalities--in the fulfillment of the targets of the current five-year plan. At the same time, emphasis was placed on the high rate of development of the counties, of all zones and localities of the country--inclusive of those where working people of Magyar nationality live and work together with the Romanian population. The floor was taken at the plenary meeting by Dumitru Popescu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP. The participants in the plenary meeting addressed Nicolae Ceausescu a telegram that reads inter alia:

"The conclusion of the debates in the plenum was the unshaken resolve of the Magyar working people from Romania to dedicate all their might to the implementation of the set targets, in full unity with the entire people and under the leadership of the glorious Romanian Communist Party, having the conviction that adding to the victories scored so far there will be others, ever greater ones, on the road of our homeland's progress towards socialism and communism". The telegram also shows that "the equality before the material possibilities offered by society, under the circumstances of a high-rated development of the productive forces--the foundation and essence of the just policy of the productive forces--the foundation and essence of the just policy of the nationalities pursued by the Romanian Communist Party--has secured, equally for the citizens of Magyar nationality that live in Romania, the improvement of their living standard, a dignified, free, prosperous life.

Germans Meet

AU272020 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 27 Dec (AGERPRES)--A plenary meeting of the Council of Working People of German Nationality of Romania took place on December 27. It analyzed the tasks incumbent upon the council in mobilizing the working people of German nationality to the carrying through of the single national plan of economic and social development of Romania in 1981. The works of the plenum were opened by Eduard Eisenburger, member of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Council of Working People of German nationality.

The report delivered before the plenum and the addresses made pointed to the big successes scored by the working peoples--Romanians, Magyars, Germans and other nationalities--in the intense activity of development of Socialist Romania. Emphasis was also placed on the tremendous revolutionary, economic and social transformations which changed from the very foundations the look of all counties, inclusive of those where working people of German nationality live and work alongside the Romanian population. During the meeting, Dumitru Popescu, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, took the floor. At the end of the proceedings, in an atmosphere of rousing enthusiasm, the participants addressed a telegram to President Nicolae Ceausescu, which reads among other things:

The participants in the plenary meeting express, on behalf of all working people of German nationality in our homeland, full adhesion to the entire home and foreign policy of the party and the state, the entire people's unity, in devoting all their forces, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, to the translation into life of the targets set by the 12th congress of the party.

The plenum appreciates that the targets set regarding the judicious distribution of the productive forces, the well-balanced development and general raising of the economic level and degree of civilization of all zones and counties of this country ensure henceforth, too, equal work and life conditions, better possibilities of instruction and of enlarging the cultural horizon, the plenary capitalization on the creative capacities and the unhampered affirmation in all domains of activity for all members of society, irrespective of nationality. It is in this that resides the genuine policy of nationalities promoted consistently by our party and state, which ensures in actual fact fully equal freedoms and rights to all citizens of the homeland, continuously deepens the friendship and unity between the Romanian people and the coinhabiting nationalities.

DELO CONDUCTS OPINION POLL ON POLISH CRISIS

AU292140 [Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 20 December on page 32 carries an unattributed 4,200-word report on a recent DELO opinion poll on the events in Poland, noting in the introductory editorial note that "the Slovene public is obviously well informed on the burning Polish affairs," and also "thinks a great deal about them." It is reported that the participants in the poll--"public workers who are not professional politicians" and various people selected by DELO local correspondents in all parts of Slovenia--were asked: "Do you think that the core of the Polish crisis lies in the disrupted relations between the workers class and its vanguard, which in Poland is supposed to be the PZPR, and, if you think so, what was wrong in the relations between the Polish party and the Polish workers and how do you appraise the present situation?" The poll yielded such a large number of answers, DELO says, that it is impossible to publish all of them. Many participants also answered the question of who should solve the Polish crisis, which had not been asked, and some of the participants discussed in their answers "the disturbing thought about whether we are facing something similar also in Yugoslavia."

The participants in the poll, as reported by DELO, see the disrupted relations between the workers class on the one hand and the party and state on the other, as one of the main reasons for the current crisis in Poland, and express and elaborate this thought in different ways. Cveto Nanut, political scientist and employee of the Nova Gorica bank, says that "the PZPR has undoubtedly become bureaucratized and has lost contact with the Polish workers class." Matjaz Pust, employee of the Trbovlje Rudis enterprise, sees the problem in a wider perspective and says that "the causes of the crisis lie in the political system itself, a system that is characterized by its bureaucratic and statist attitude toward workers." Another participant, Slavko Riznar, construction worker from Trebegovci, "especially calls attention to various privileges enjoyed by the state elite in such closed social structures" in which both "the party and the trade union leadership have lost contact with the masses of the people." As a result of that, "the Polish party must now face an organized and effective workers movement which will not be eliminated with a few demagogical phrases," as Leopold Mokotar, political scientist from Celje, says in his answer. Borut Belehar, physician from Kranj, charges that the Polish party "placed itself as a ruling caste above the workers class."

DELO reports that "many" of the poll's participants, including Helena Rancigaj, propagandist from Kranj, "in this connection also note the fact that Polish society was too much under the influence of the Soviet Union." The conviction that "the Poles must and can decide their own fate and solve their crisis on their own, naturally in the interest of true socialism, world peace and their greater rights in decisionmaking," is expressed in many of the answers published in the report. But there is also "the fear," as noted by Marko Bezjak from Radovljica, "that it might not suit the other states of the socialist camp if the Polish workers class realized its aspirations to democratize the management of society." Bezjak believes that "that is a dangerous road, among other things also because Poland could become an example to other states of the socialist camp where demands for democratizing socialist relations could also be made." In the same vein, Leopold Mokotar from Celje says that "the question is whether the Soviet Union will be able to tolerate the new trend within the socialist camp. I believe," he says, "that the conditions for that do not exist, and therefore Poland will be at the center of international events for a long time to come. It may also be that its hour of trial is yet to come." Marjan Krasevec, worker of the Novo Mesto Krka factory, adds in this connection that the Polish events are "a warning to the other countries with a similar social system" which now "fear that Poland might find for itself a more attractive model of socialism" than theirs.

Discussing the Polish crisis with reference to Yugoslavia's difficult economic situation, several of the poll's participants see no danger of a similar crisis happening in Yugoslavia.

Marko Manfreda, secretary of the Lasko communal trade union council, says: "Although Yugoslavia is in a difficult economic situation just now also, I believe that we have organized our mutual relations in such a way that something similar to what has happened in Poland cannot happen in our country."

Noting that in Polish society "the peasants and the intelligentsia have even greater cause" for discontent and mistrust than the workers, Dr France Hocevar says in his answer to the poll that "the central reason" for the Polish crisis is the fact that Poland "has not been given an opportunity to follow its own road to socialism, but has been forced to live some kind of an institutionalized life that has no roots among the people." Two of the poll's participants, historian Franc Klopcic and writer Tone Svetina, express similar views that "Poland will find sufficient strength and sound reason in its workers class and its party to solve the crisis on its own." Klopcic adds that "the outcome of the crisis will be also influenced by the Poles' great patriotism, which will know how to and probably will resist all pressures from both the East and the West." Svetina points out that "an intervention by Soviet troops in the present situation would not only be a great threat to peace but would also cause enormous damage to the world workers' movement and to socialism in general."

Recalling the past crises that have followed one another in the GDR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland since 1953, and pointing out that "the tragedy of socialism as a form of power in fact began as early as in Kronstadt in 1921" with the uprising of sailors, workers and peasants, Bojan Stih, director of the Maribor Slovene national theater, predicts in his answer that such crises will continue to occur "as long as certain communist parties continue to reduce socialism to the functional issue of power." Dr Frane Jerman, professor at the Ljubljana Philosphical Faculty, comments that "the alienation of the power structures, that is the state and party power structures, from the workers class, which was the main cause of the Polish crisis, has obviously become a legitimate phenomenon in the so-called real, that is administrative, socialism." Socialism must be "specific" to every individual country, he says, whereas "in the Eastern bloc socialism has been brought from outside." That is the origin of the crises, he points out.

As far as the PZPR is concerned, Anton Bebler comments in his answer that "that is a question of a syndrome which is present in various external forms in a majority of socialist countries, but has some specific characteristics in Poland because the PZPR was formed as a section of a supranational centralized political organization with its headquarters in the neighboring big power," and eventually "became the victim of the inherited ideological illusion that it alone and automatically expresses the authentic interests of the workers class." He also faults "certain proletarian revolutions" for their failure "to create new, effective instruments" to prevent corruption of power and, he adds, "absolute power corrupts absolutely."

BORBA SAYS AFGHAN GOVERNMENT BLOCKS DETENTE

LD272148 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Dec (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav daily BORBA notes in a commentary on the anniversary of the entry of Soviet military units into Afghanistan that that Asian country is far from normalization of its internal conditions. "The Afghan Government continues to block many processes of cooperation and detente between East and West and confront the Soviet Union with serious political condemnations and even many measures of economic restriction," writes BORBA.

Particularly disturbing is the lack of progress in the UN General Assembly's demand that all parties concern make maximum efforts for the attainment of a just and honourable political solution, notes the paper.

The Soviet Union has not yet submitted to this position and claims that it will withdraw "a limited contingent" of its troops when other countries stop interfering in Afghanistan's affairs.

In this conglomeration of mutually opposed and aggravated interests, a large part of south and east Asia is exposed to instability by way of threats and conflicts, writes BORBA. Worst afflicted is the people of Afghanistan, whose refugees in Pakistan and Iran have already reached nearly two million. This is another argument in favour of seeking a solution, that the people of Afghanistan decide on their future alone, without interference from any side or anyone and under no pretext.

UBIPARIP DISCUSSES COOPERATION WITH SOVIET ENVOY

LD261604 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1148 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)--Gojko Ubiparip, vice president of the Federal Executive Council and chairman of the Yugoslav part of the Yugoslav-Soviet interstate Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, has received Nikolay Rodinov, the Soviet Union's ambassador to the SFRY.

Some questions of the promotion of continued development of mutual economic cooperation were discussed in the friendly conversation.

ROTAR, USSR ENVOY DISCUSS COMMODITY EXCHANGES

LD291902 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Dec (TANJUG)--Metod Rotar, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary of foreign trade, today received USSR Ambassador to Yugoslavia Nikolay Rodionov. They discussed the results of commodity exchanges this year. Reference was also made to some immediate tasks pertaining to the domain of commodity exchange for next year.

CPSU STUDY DELEGATION DEPARTS AFTER VISIT

LD262008 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG)--A study delegation of the Soviet Communist Party, headed by Central Committee member and head of the Propaganda Department Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov, left Belgrade today after a visit to Yugoslavia. The visit took place in the framework of a programme of cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The delegation was informed on the implementation of decisions on ideo-political activities adopted by the 11th Congress of the LCY.

ROTAR DISCUSSES TRADE WITH ALBANIAN ENVOY

AU292210 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Dec 80 p 8

[Text] Yesterday Metod Rotar, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for foreign trade, received Sokrat Plaka, Albania's ambassador to Yugoslavia. Certain current questions concerning economic relations and cooperation between the two countries were discussed. Rotar also received Norwegian Ambassador Tore Bogh. Certain questions concerning bilateral economic cooperation between the two countries were discussed.

MAMULA, MIJATOVIC SPEAK AT ARMY DAY RECEPTION

LD231210 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1516 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)--In connection with 22 December--Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) Day--the SFRY Presidency, headed by President Cvijetin Mijatovic, today received a delegation of the SFRY Armed Forces led by Adm Branko Mamula, chief of the YPA General Staff.

The reception at the SFRY Presidency was also attended by Sergej Kraigher, vice president of the Presidency; Lazar Mojsov, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee; and members of the Presidency Petar Stambolic, Lazar Kolisevski, Vidoje Zarkovic, Fadilj Hodza and Stevan Doronjski. The reception was also attended by Dragoslav Markovic, Veselin Djuranovic, Jakov Blazevic and Ivan Dolnicar.

The armed forces delegation comprised Col Gens Dane Cuic, Dzemil Sarao, Dane Petkovski, Ilija Radakovic, Bruno Vuletic, Radovan Vojvodic, Dusan Pekic, Petar Gracanin and Stevan Roglic as well as Lt Col Gens Branko Jerkic, Dr Drago Nikolic, Vice Adm Miodrag Radosavljevic, Maj Gen Fadilj Curanoli and Rear Adm Zvonimir Kostic.

At the reception, members of the delegation acquainted the SFRY Presidency with achievements in the sphere of strengthening combat readiness of the armed forces and in the sphere of moral-political unity. Then efforts made to further modernize the armed forces were presented.

After the reception there was a luncheon at which Adm Branko Mamula, chief of the General Staff of the YPA, and Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, made toasts.

Congratulating all those present on Army Day, Adm Branko Mamula said:

Allow me to congratulate you, on behalf of the SFRY Armed Forces and the federal secretary for national defense, Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, who is at home convalescing on doctors' advice, and together with my comrades, on YPA Day.

On their 39th birthday, the armed forces are filled with sorrow at being unable to share their joy about the results achieved in strengthening the defense power of the socialist community with their creator and supreme commander, Comrade Tito.

The year which we are leaving behind will be a significant one in the development of the armed forces because their entire composition, both peacetime and wartime, has made great efforts to raise combat-readiness, strengthen moral-political unity and prepare all structures of society for defense. Numerous exercises of the YPA, the territorial defense, civil protection and all other organized forces of society have confirmed a high degree of training. It has been our wish that, following the death of supreme commander Comrade Tito and in a situation of all kinds of speculations about our freedom and independence, we compensate for this by ever more self-sacrificing work, greater successes and defense readiness and to make it easier for you and our peoples to resolve the numerous tasks which we face.

The moral-political unity in our units, commands and staffs has strengthened. Sound interhuman relations, high demands in training and organization of work and the continually growing consciousness about the social and political significance of defense matters represent a firm basis for the consolidation of discipline and responsibility, and to this we have paid full attention also this year.

Army members actively participated in all political and economic actions together with the working people and citizens. And at this important political juncture of our social development they will with unreserved support and concrete deeds make their full contribution.

I would particularly like to inform you that all our commands, units, organizations of the League of Communists and of the young people right down to the last soldier are working and achieving notable results in matters connected with economic stabilization, rational and more economical business activity and spending.

The results achieved make possible the even speedier development and further strengthening of defense next year and in the years to come. This is demanded from us by the times in which we live because the political situation is becoming day by day more complex and its further development increasingly uncertain and difficult to forecast.

We are conscious of the tasks stemming from it and of the need to make even greater efforts in the consolidation of all the units and in constantly raising defense preparedness. We will work particularly on providing combat and technical equipment of our armed forces, on the training of peacetime and wartime units and commands, on increasingly embracing the working people, citizens and especially young people in the organized defense preparations, and also on improving working and living conditions of men and officers.

We will abide by the well-known thought and command of Comrade Tito that we should prepare as if war is to start tomorrow because our freedom and independence and their defense should not be caught unaware in any rapid change of the military-political situation, which can never be ruled out in our political and geostrategic situation.

We will carry out the tasks before us more successfully if the unity of the working class and of the working people and of our nations and nationalities is greater around the League of Communists on all significant questions and tasks of socialist construction and on social relations established on it.

During all the past 39 years our revolution always and repeatedly has proven its vitality and found strength to come face to face with and to take the measure of our social relations, guide them, involve in them million-men strong masses of our working people and citizens, and ensure the implementation of the objectives of every historic stage. Our armed forces have been carried by this kind of inspiration from their beginnings and will continue to do so in the future in every situation that can happen to us. We can build and we will build our combat morale in the defense of our country on this inspiration and unity which we believe in the period ahead of us will acquire new encouragement.

In congratulating you on the holiday of our armed forces we are assuring you that we will continue to cherish the brotherhood and unity and Yugoslav self-management socialist togetherness, and on it develop the unity of our ranks and mobilize the entire complement of our armed forces to attain even higher targets of the overall combat readiness of our armed forces.

We will do everything to make sure that our country's defense readiness may become an even stronger guarantee of peaceful and creative work of our people.

Replying to Admiral Branko Mamula's address, Cvijetin Mijatovic said:

I thank most warmly Admiral Mamula and all members of the delegation of our armed forces for this visit and for the congratulations addressed to us in connection with YPA Day. Permit on this occasion too, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, and for the people here present, to congratulate cordially you and all members of our armed forces on 22 December, YPA Day, which is becoming also the festival of all component parts of all-people's defense.

At this moment our sentiments of deep gratitude and our thoughts return to our Comrade Tito, who is no longer with us, who was the leader and strategist of our socialist revolution, of the national liberation war and of the self-management development of our country and who was the supreme commander of our armed forces. At the same time we are proud to have been his comrades-in-arms and to be carrying on with his immortal work, which will inspire us forever.

Only a great revolutionary nationwide and liberation movement such as ours could have produced a great man like our Comrade Tito. (?Respecting) profoundly the socio-historical laws, developing revolutionary action on a broadly based patriotic and liberation platform, Comrade Tito created and led a strong revolutionary armed force which victoriously ended the liberation war and became a reliable guardian of free and unhampered development of our fraternal nations and nationalities, which unswervingly carry on along Tito's path.

The creation and development of the YPA from the first partisan detachments to a regular army with over 800,000 men at the end of the war eloquently speaks of Tito as a commander of genius and a revolutionary. The Yugoslav Communist Party led by Tito in every stage of our armed revolution provided the right answers, adopted realistic decisions, found the way out of difficulties and opened up prospects.

The process of the development of all-people's defense and social self-protection was started in accordance with Tito's ideas. In them every working man and citizen is increasingly becoming a real factor of defense and of our country's protection and of our social system. In this context the YPA represents a striking armed first and territorial defense, a broadest form of organization and training of our citizens for struggle. In a creative way Tito gave life to the Marxist concept of the armed people whereby every citizen becomes a soldier and every soldier a citizen. The National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia developed on this concept and on it the victory against the occupiers and domestic traitors was won. To us, Tito's comrades-in-arms, and to the generation after us, Tito left the ever instructive example of how in the most difficult circumstances the struggle for the freedom of the country can be conducted successfully and how the dearly paid for freedom and other achievements of our revolution can be preserved.

The army, created in the whirlwind of the revolution is today too, as it will always be, Tito's army, a truly people's army and a socialist army deeply linked with and loyal to the interests of the peoples and the working class in building and defending independent, socialist, self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia. Such an army--equipped with modern equipment, capable of fighting and morally and politically firm--is always necessary to us and in particular today in the very worsened international situation. And not only the army-- what we also need is a large-scale territorial defense equipped as best as possible and all other component parts of all-people's defense and social self-protection, organized in an unified system.

We are aware of the fact that the world situation is truly worrying and there is the danger of it worsening further and of serious threats to world peace. In addition to the chronic crisis hotbeds, such as the one in the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Africa, new ones also are emerging. If one adds to that the dangerous violation of detente, the absence of results in negotiations on disarmament and resolving the extremely unequitable economic relations in the world, then the conclusion about a cirsis of present-day world relations as a whole inevitably imposes itself.

The present world situation is worsened by armed interventions and real wars, by crude pressures on the independence of peoples and countries and on their right to decide freely on their destiny.

Disputes and armed conflicts between individual nonaligned countries objectively harm the action ability of the movement of nonaligned countries and make it possible for the third countries to draw benefits. The movement of the nonaligned countries aspires to peace and equitable cooperation by sovereign states and peoples.

The principles and the policy of nonalignment have been and remain the only real alternative to the policy of unequitable relations and conflicts. Due to all this and in particular due to the growing role of the military factor in international relations, it is necessary for us to strengthen continually the defense power of our country and the self-protection ability of society and to maintain them at a level which will ensure for us a certain and peaceful development. Therefore, we must perfect our defense and protection in order that nothing might surprise us. It goes without saying that all this should be in line with our lasting strategic orientation, the economic possibilities of our society, the development of the military-political situation in the world and the degree of threat to the independence and territorial integrity of the SFRY.

It is known that our society allocates significant resources for the needs of defense, and in particular of the army, and this ensures always a high level of technical equipment, combat readiness and firm moral and political unity of all its members. The army and the Territorial Defense--by even greater saving and rational and planned use of resources--can make a major contribution to the general efforts for the stabilization of the economy. This should also continue to be a lasting and permanent task of all the members of the armed forces.

With the new method of carrying out obligations of military service, conditions are being created for the young people to become capable, considerably earlier, of carrying out various tasks in the armed forces as well as for their formation, at a most appropriate time in life, into conscious socialist personalities who will carry out various and responsible duties in our socialist self-managing society.

As in earlier years, this year too the members of the army made a major contribution to the development of the country; they came to the aid of the population whenever they were threatened by natural disasters and other misfortunes and they were at hand also in other similar circumstances. This contributed to the consolidation of the unity of the army and the people and raised the entire defense ability of society.

Dear comrades,

Our greatest strength is the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities and the resolve to continue on our, on Tito's, path. Therefore, continue to consolidate brotherhood, unity and comradely relations in all army environments as well as firm moral and political unity and the high level of training of all armed forces members. In this way all of us will, in the best possible way, repay our debt to Tito's work and to his memory.

You and all members of the armed forces we thank for the efforts which you are investing in the development of our armed forces and for the results achieved in training the all-people's defense and social self-protection as a whole.

We wish you much success in carrying out your responsible tasks.

MINIC LECTURES ARMY OFFICERS ON WORLD SITUATION

AU241725 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2182 18 Dec 80 p 20

["Part" of the lecture delivered by Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the Federal Council for International Relations, to officers of the Belgrade army garrison at the Belgrade Hall of the Yugoslav People's Army on 10 December]

[Text] The general international situation is becoming increasingly complex and increasingly burdened by many threats to peace, security in the world and the independence of a number of countries. The main causes of this state of the world are the rivalry between the big powers and blocs, and their struggle to preserve or expand the existing spheres of influence.

An increased role of the military factor in international relations has been noticed in the last few years. This increased role has become especially pronounced last year and this year. International relations are burdened by military interventions, the arms race and a deterioration of the world economic situation in all respects. All these problems have been discussed within and outside the United Nations, but no crises or problems have been brought to an end and solved in recent years. On the contrary, new crises and new problems have appeared. Accordingly, the international panorama is neither clear nor bright and there are not even any prospects for a quick improvement of the international situation in the near future. This is not a pessimistic appraisal but a conclusion based on facts, on actual developments and actual trends.

The relaxation of tension that gained ground between 1970 and 1976 led to a thaw in international relations and a rapid expansion of political, economic, cultural and other cooperation. Unfortunately, in 1976 that process entered a stage of lagging and, a few years later, a stage of stagnation and regression and has reached at this time perhaps its lowest point, regardless of all the discussions held at the Madrid CSCE meeting, in the United Nations, in bilateral contacts and negotiations and so forth. Several issues give their imprint to this international situation.

First, there are relations between the big powers and blocs, the war between Iraq and Iran, the Middle East and, in this connection, the activity of nonaligned countries, the state of affairs within the nonaligned movement and the movement's opportunities in the present situation, as well as the Polish crisis and other issues.

For several decades now the development of the whole of international relations has continued to be influenced to a great extent by relations between the superpowers leading the two opposing blocs. The period of cold war between them, following the end of World War II, lasted until somewhere around 1969 or 1970. Attempts at bringing about a thaw in the earlier period failed to lead to a relaxation of tension. The process of relaxation of international tension began in the seventies, and the contacts between the big powers and the numerous agreements reached at their summit meetings created the conditions for a more favorable climate in international relations, even though the confrontation between the big powers did not ease for a single moment. It was in that climate that certain results were achieved in developing international relations, in the efforts of peoples of the world to preserve peace and in halting or at least limiting the nuclear arms race. The Helsinki conference with its very important historical document was the climax and the greatest result of that process of relaxation. Now the relations between these powers and blocs are probably at their lowest point since 1970. A deep mistrust between the leading bloc powers is now dominant.

We are entering a period of very dangerous rivalry between these powers! On one side there is the intention to achieve military superiority, and on the other there is determination not to fall into an inferior position. It is from these two strategies that a dangerous period of the arms race, such as we have not known in the past three decades, will perhaps result.

However, despite all that, contacts and talks between these powers continue. Recently U.S. Senator Percy, who is designated to assume the position of chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, visited the USSR and had talks with Chairman Brezhnev that lasted several hours. It can be said that what is involved in this connection is a process of exploring the ground, testing and searching for a way to open talks. These relations strongly influence global international relations. That fact is confirmed also by the Madrid CSCE meeting, at which the bloc confrontation is such that it was barely possible for the Madrid meeting to begin, thanks primarily to the efforts of the group of neutral and nonaligned countries of Europe among which Yugoslavia has been one of the most active.

These countries succeeded in finding a compromise and basis for continuing the meeting. The meeting has been in progress for more than 10 weeks, but it is impossible to conclude on the basis of all debates held there that the views on the most strongly disputed questions have moved closer to one another. The United States and the West insist on the problem of Afghanistan and advocate the thesis that detente is not limited only to Europe but depends on the behavior of all [CSCE] member countries in all parts of the world. The USSR refuses to discuss that. It admits that a political solution must be found for Afghanistan but stresses that that has no connection with European security. Another confrontation that is primarily imposed by the United States is that over human rights. The USSR and the Eastern countries reject these attacks claiming that they represent interference in internal affairs. These two items are the main subject of dispute. However, the confrontation extends to such other spheres as economic cooperation, cultural cooperation, arms and so forth.

It can be said that the decision to refrain from interfering in the Iraqi-Iranian war is the only tangible agreement reached between the big powers. That agreement resulted from the fear that interference in such a war in the area of the world's main oil reserves and production could lead to a direct conflict between the two superpowers.

The war between Iraq and Iran has turned into a position war. The forces are more or less equal. All mediations have failed to produce any results so far. Considerable efforts have been made to stop the destruction and bloodshed between these two countries, which are members of the nonaligned movement, and to open negotiations about the disputed issues, but no success has been achieved in this respect. A mediating mission between Baghdad and Tehran was first undertaken by the Islamic Conference, because both countries are members of the conference, and this was then followed by Cuba and by Waldheim, UN secretary general. For the first time since the Havana conference, the nonaligned countries reached agreement about one of the new crises. They agreed that they should become involved in this connection and did take specific steps. According to the decision of the Coordination Committee, a good will committee of six nonaligned countries, including Yugoslavia, was formed. That committee held its first meeting at the ministerial level in Belgrade. However, the expected results failed to materialize. The committee is always ready to reactivate itself as soon as Iraq and Iran accept its composition and show signs that they themselves have reached the conclusion that it is no longer possible to continue the war and it is necessary to solve their dispute by peaceful means. It is a great task--especially for the nonaligned movement--to spare no efforts to end this conflict and to ensure that both Iraq and Iran will refrain from seeking military solutions and turn to searching for a political solution on the basis of the UN Charter, the basic principles of the nonaligned policy, the agreements existing between the two warring countries, and mutual respect for the just national interests of the two sides.

The Middle East situation has deteriorated in several respects. First of all, the war between Iraq and Iran has greatly weakened the forces that oppose Israel's aggressive policy. The heaviest blow has been dealt to the Palestinian people and the PLO. The state of relations among the Arab countries is worse than ever before, and that makes the Middle East crisis increasingly complex. Israel's positions have not been more favorable for a long time than they are in this situation. The new U.S. administration has appeared before the public with a statement that it wishes to continue the policy initiated by President Carter. That policy is based on the Camp David agreement; that is, a final reconciliation between Egypt and Israel, and a "solution" to the Palestinian problem on the basis of granting a certain autonomy to the Palestinians in Israel for a period of 5 years.

The activity of the nonaligned movement and its influence in claiming this state of affairs is of exceptional importance to us in this international situation.

The conference of nonaligned countries at the ministerial level will be held in New Delhi in 2 months. Very extensive preparations for that meeting are already in progress. Since the Havana summit, nonaligned policy has been present in international relations more often than but a few times before. The nonaligned countries have acted successfully within the framework of the United Nations. A list of all the initiatives undertaken by the nonaligned countries within the United Nations would be long. Nearly all the main decisions and resolutions of the world organization have been adopted at the initiative of nonaligned countries. Let us only cite, for example, the decision on representation of the government of Democratic Kampuchea in the United Nations (and not of the government imposed by a military intervention). The nonaligned Asian countries (ASEAN) were the main initiators of the decision on Kampuchea's representation, but they were also joined in this connection by many African, Latin American and other countries. The initiators of the resolution on Afghanistan demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops and an end to all interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs were the nonaligned Muslim countries who were also joined in this connection by some Latin American and African countries and some countries from other regions. Consistently adhering to its principled views on international relations, our country voted for the aforementioned documents.

The nonaligned countries were also engaged in extensive action in connection with economic problems at the 11th special session of the UN General Assembly. It is thanks to them that the Group of 77, now uniting 115 developing countries, is very active. The nonaligned countries carried out the main actions for adopting a number of UN resolutions on disarmament. They are now engaged in actions for adopting two documents at the world organization: one of them is on noninterference and nonintervention, and the other is on solving disputes by peaceful means, and so forth.

Therefore, it is a great error that certain politicans and statesmen commit when they conclude that the activities and influence of the nonaligned movement have declined. For, considering the substance of their activity, the nonaligned countries are also now engaged in noticeable actions even despite certain differences and conflicts which have broken out between the individual members of the movement. There are serious problems within the nonaligned movement, but all fears that it might dissolve are unfounded. The latest example confirming that is the final document on the summit talks between India and Indonesia, which especially stresses that the central issue for those two countries is the concern to preserve the authority of the original principles of the nonaligned movement, principles formulated at the first conference of nonaligned countries in Belgrade in 1961 and at other summit conferences. Two large nonaligned Asian countries have demonstrated their firm determination to ensure that the nonaligned movement will continue to be an independent nonbloc factor. An enormous majority of nonaligned countries holds identical or similar views on the importance and role of the nonaligned movement and policy in today's very restless world, in which there is increasing concern about the future development of international relations and about world peace and security. That fact will certainly find its full expression at the New Delhi ministerial conference of nonaligned countrie in February 1981.

It is because of the existing bloc deivisions and the tense relations between the blocs and big powers that the Polish crisis--although essentially an internal affair of the Polish people and of Poland's socialist forces--has become a cause for confrontation, for outside pressures and interference in various forms, and for creating an atmosphere of tension around Poland. Thus, without any fault of the Polish people and the Polish working class, this crisis has become, in one of its international dimensions, to a certain extent an object which is used to increase tension in Europe and beyond. Poland must be left in peace to enable the Polish workers class and people to independently and sovereignly solve their problems in accordance with Poland's internal problems [as published] and aspirations and its international position.

Our country and the LCY are resolutely striving along this line, firmly believing that all responsible political forces headed by the PZPR and its leadership will find solutions for the crisis their own way, without anyone's outside interference. In these efforts, they have the sympathies and support of our peoples and nationalities, our workers class, the League of Communists and all other socialist forces of Yugoslavia.

A development of Polish events in this direction would simultaneously be a great contribution to easing tension and strengthening security and cooperation in Europe and the world, and at the same time strengthening the world socialist process.

TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION DISCUSSES DEFENSE TASKS

LD261610 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1316 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG)--In the next medium-term period trade union federation organizations and organs will call for the continued development of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) and of Territorial Defense. This was emphasized at today's session of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia [CTUY] Council Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection. Also taking part in the work of the session were representatives of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, Col Gen Dane Cuic, and Lt Col Gens Georgije Jovicic, Ante Damic and Drago Nikolic. They acquainted those taking part in the meeting with the topical military-political situation in the world and the development and financing of our armed forces in the 1981 to 1985 period, as well as with the standard of civilians, the military and military training.

In the discussion of the projected development of the armed forces it was stated that efforts in the next medium-term period will be directed towards continued technical modernization of the army, improved training, strengthening of cadres, greater use of our own resources and the pooling of scientific and production work. As well as support for these efforts, the stand was expressed that the trade unions will call for the material and financial needs of all-people's defense and social self-protection to be determined by means of social self-protection to be determined by means of social agreement-seeking and self-management agreements on the principle of developing and strengthening solidarity in all working people and organizations of associated labor. It was also stressed that the CTUY will try to see that even more cadres from the ranks of young workers and children of workers of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia enter military schools and academies, reserve officers schools and national defense faculties.

All actions by the CTUY relating to all-people's defense and social self-protection will be carried out in cooperation with YPA units and institutions. This cooperation was assessed as very successful at today's session.

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DISCUSSES FOREIGN TRADE

LD281824 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1335 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)--According to the Federal Secretariat for Information, a session of the Federal Executive Council was held today chaired by Veseling Djuranovic. The session agreed on the Federal Executive Council's stand in connection with a report by the committee for economic relations with foreign countries of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces following an analysis of the draft decision on the joint plan on Yugoslavia's balance of payments for 1981 and the draft decision on the joint plan on Yugoslavia's foreign currency balance of payments for 1981.

A report was also adopted containing proposals on the Federal Executive Council's stand on the proposals and suggestions submitted by delegates in the Committee for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces in connection with the draft decision on the country's common foreign currency policy in 1981. The Committee for Economic Relations of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces met on 27 December.

DJURANOVIC VIEWS STABILIZATION, NONALIGNMENT

LD271202 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0745 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Dec (TANJUG)--In an interview granted to MEDJUNARODNA POLITIKA at the end of the old and beginning of the new year, Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, speaks about the effect the policy of economic stabilization has had so far, about what Yugoslavia expects in the new year and about a number of international questions--the development of relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and its neighbors and the immediate tasks of the policy and movement of nonalignment.

The past year, according to Veselin Djuranovic, was a year of struggle to realize the policy of economic stabilization. "Encouraging results were achieved," he said, "in the course of the year. We halted the rise in the country's balance of payments deficit. A vital factor in the reduction of this deficit is a real 9 percent growth in exports accompanied by a simultaneous drop in imports. In addition to all this we also achieved a relatively satisfactory 3 percent rate of growth in the social product, 4.5 percent in industrial production and 3 percent in employment.

Djuranovic stresses that stepping up efforts and actions at all levels of society with the aim of implementing the policy of economic stabilization will be the basic orientation in socioeconomic development in 1981. Fresh steps will be taken in this connection to reduce the country's balance of payments deficit by means of additional efforts to increase export. Efforts will continue to reduce spending, especially general spending, and on investments, as well as to halt the further decline of personal incomes and create the appropriate conditions for a gradual increase in them. This primarily concerns the increase in the personal incomes of production workers, which will definitely depend on an increase in work productivity.

One of the most difficult tasks in the next year 1981, Djuranovic said, will be the struggle against steep price rises and a particular task will, in this connection, be the implementation of the new law on prices, which will come into effect on 1 January.

"Yugoslavia is paying great attention to the promotion of good-neighborly relations and the development of comprehensive cooperation with all the neighboring countries on the principles of independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, noninterference and full equality," Veselin Djuranovic stated. The president of the Federal Executive Council underlined that today Yugoslavia had good and friendly relations with all the neighboring countries. He said that our country was convinced that this was the only right way to strengthen peaceful coexistence and consolidate detente and stability on this part of Europe.

At the beginning of the year which will mark the 20th anniversary of the first conference of nonaligned countries in Belgrade, the president of the Federal Executive Council noted that despite the crisis of detente "the activity of nonaligned countries continues without a stop" and that nonaligned countries "inspire or lead actions aimed at settling numerous political and economic problems which weigh down the world community."

"The 20th anniversary of the first summit meeting of nonaligned countries in Belgrade represents a jubilee of a great importance not only for the nonaligned movement but also for the world as a whole," Djuranovic said and added that today no one could any longer deny the fact that the nonaligned policy and movement had become a factor which could not be ignored in world relations. Djuranovic also stressed that the fundamental principles of nonaligned policy, which were laid down at the first conference and which were called the original principles by Comrade Tito, were gaining strength in the world as the "main progressive base of the new and more just international political and economic relations."

The nonaligned movement comprised today nearly two-thirds of the world's countries and more than half of mankind, which had found in this policy the mainstay which gave it an advantage in resisting pressures from the blocs and the great powers. Today, nonaligned policy's principles and goals were also becoming dear to numerous countries which were formerly members of the existing military-political alliances, Djuranovic stated, adding that the present day developments in the world had also confirmed the lasting value of the original principles of nonaligned policy.

Over the past 2 decades nonaligned countries had achieved great successes in the struggle against colonialism, racism, imperialism hegemony and other forms of foreign domination, intervention and interference in internal affairs, Djuranovic said. The president of the Federal Executive Council stressed that it was due to these countries that the problems of international economic relations had found themselves in the center of world developments.

Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, appraised the forthcoming ministerial conference of nonaligned countries in New Delhi as a meeting which should contribute to the intensification of the initiatives and actions taken by large numbers of nonaligned countries. This gathering, Djuranovic stressed, will demonstrate the unity of action, along with differences and, in combination with the struggle, will keep the movement on the line of the original principles adopted at the first conference of nonaligned countries held in Belgrade in 1961.

DRAGOSAVAC SPEAKS TO PARTY SECRETARIES ON ECONOMY

LD252036 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)--The whole of Yugoslav society faces a qualitatively new period in socioeconomic development and the promotion of socialist self-managing relations. This idea was also understood at the last session of the LCY Central Committee, at which topical ideopolitical issues of Yugoslavia's development in the 1981 to 1985 period were discussed. The whole of the preparation for the plenum and the conclusions adopted at it demonstrated unambiguously that we have exhausted all the possibilities of development in the old way. Precisely because of this the conclusions referred to represent a long-term platform for activity by the League of Communists and all socialist forces in changing the method of behavior, life and work and in analyzing the causes of instability and finding solutions. If the year which is ending was in this sense a year of sobering up, then 1981 must undoubtedly be a year of action. This, among other things, was said at today's conversation between Dr Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and secretaries of the League of Communists central and provincial committee presidiums.

In the introductory report Andrej Marinc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, emphasized precisely the high level of consciousness of the working class which is increasingly coming round to the idea that we have been living beyond our possibilities, that there is no longer any more room for maneuver by developing material production on the basis of indebtedness abroad and that there can be no development without rationalization and the optimum use of production forces, agreement-making, self-management agreement-making and pooling labor and resources.

Marinc emphasized that in realizing these tasks we always need to consider that what individuals, institutions or organizations do is also the basis for differentiation within the League of Communists and all other socialist forces, for we can no longer tolerate the discrepancy which has existed up to now between proclaimed principles and the struggle to carry them out. This struggle can be won by means of full mobilization of the League of Communists and by means of the responsibility of every single member of it who must act within the political system.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, Marinc said, is already working out its action program and will constantly analyze its realization at the federation level. However, League of Communists republican and provincial organizations also have a great obligation and responsibility in the sense of standardizing approaches to problems and LCY activity as a whole. This assumes everyday activity by communists in basic organizations of associated labor, local communities, sociopolitical and self-managing interest communities and a constant check on what has been achieved.

Marinc assessed that we shall also need to carry out detailed discussions with communists who work in federal administration, in the Chamber of the Economy and sociopolitical organizations on what kind of solutions and instruments they have offered and on how to arrive at suitable solutions more rapidly, thereby contributing to the consistent implementation of the conclusion of the 15th session of the LCY Central Committee, the resolution from the 11th LCY Congress and other generally accepted orientations. With this aim in view, he emphasized in particular the significance of continued self-managing social planning and decisionmaking by associated labor in all social reproduction.

The conclusion that the political situation in the country is good arises unambiguously out of the report by the secretaries of League of Communists central and provincial committee presidiums. The working people and citizens of this country are conscious that this revolution, of which they are the subject, has secured progress and prospects for them in social, economic, cultural and every other sphere. Naturally, they are also conscious of the serious international economic and political situation. Our people often travel abroad and they are in a situation in which, as was said, they are able to compare systems and perceive the advantage of our system. Hence the readiness of working people to become involved in the consistent realization of the stabilization policy and precisely because of this, as was noted, we need to take account of some things which can influence people's political disposition. Examples quoted were the shortages of individual consumer items, which arose mainly as a result of insufficient organization and responsibility. In this sense 1981 must be different but this, of course, does not mean that there will be no problems or difficulties. Similarly, remuneration according to work results and better ways of evaluating production and every creative kind of work must be the object of constant involvement on the part of the League of Communists.

In general, as Dr Dusan Dragosavac noted in the closing speech, we have instances of rather poor behavior in the social superstructure, which still disposes of the greater part of resources. There are still examples of collusion between political structures, banks and business organs in organizations of associated labor.

This year progress has been made in material production, the country's balance of payments and in many other spheres of social life. Dragosavac warned that we should neither undervalue nor overestimate these results. Agreement has been reached on the five key social agreements necessary for the adoption of the new 5-year plan for Yugoslavia, and we are pleased about this, but it also provides us with the obligation of carrying it out consistently. In short, the stabilization policy has become the ideological orientation of the League of Communists.

In this sense our most important tasks are the fight for greater labor productivity and better organization of production and economy at all levels, Dr Dusan Dragosavac said.

Milutin Baltic, Bosko Krunic, Drasko Popovic, Spiro Galovic, Vojo Bogiecevic, Miran Potrc and Gojko Ubiparip also took part in today's discussion.

POTRC COMMENTS ON PLAN, UNION INDEPENDENCE

AU251528 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1825 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Olivija Rusovac interview with Miran Potrc, president of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia [CTUY] Council, place and date not given--recorded]

[Excerpts] [Question] We are talking about the next medium-term plan which has been generally appraised as contributing to stabilization, although some interpret it to be restrictive. What is the place of social policy in this next medium-term plan, considering its nature? What solutions are advocated by the trade unions, say, in housing policy, distribution of personal incomes?

[Answer] Well, I think that it is best to attempt to state a few concrete points which in the medium-term are given in some of the social policy points. First I would say that it is envisaged that the employment growth rate will be about 2.5 percent. This means that in the coming 5 years we will open about 750,000 new jobs, meaning that we will have over 6.5 million workers in 1985 and not the approximate 5.7 million we now have.

Altogether, including the new jobs and the work places vacated because of retirement and so forth, we could employ about 1.5 million workers according to estimates in these 5 years. Considering that the annual increase in the work force, those who leave school, is about 60,000, we estimate the possibility of all these people getting employment, that existing unemployment will be reduced and that there will be some increase in return of workers from abroad, so that, well, increases in employment will not be the fastest, but there will be some.

Second, we envisage that the real personal income per employed person will increase about 2 percent annually in the coming 5 years. In the past 5 years, it increased at a rate of 0.9 percent. It must be said that the real personal income now in 1980 is about equal to that of 1976. This means that if we achieve this 2 percent growth in real personal incomes, I think it will be more than all right.

Third, the share of funds for pension and disability insurance will be increased. This means that we will ensure that pensions will grow in keeping with the growth of the personal incomes of workers in the economy.

Fourth, the construction of about 750,000 apartments is envisaged, which is about 30,000 more than the number being constructed in the present medium-term period.

I think that the plan will stay within existing possibilities and that it will not be "stabilizing" in the sense that it will fail to pay special attention to social policy.

[Question] Considering the great tasks of the trade unions, Comrade Potrc, I would ask you the following question: Are the trade unions now sufficiently able and do the political conditions exist for them to express their class essence independently and authentically as an organization? [paragraph continues]

Or are they perhaps put in the position of a side show? The colleagues from Slovenia recently posed the question whether the trade unions are an opposition. How much and at what speed are the trade unions liberating themselves from the traditional forms of work and to what extent are they appearing as an influential factor in building an overall sociopolitical system?

[Answer] Well, you see, in the shortest possible way: The general social conditions for an independent role of the trade unions do exist. These conditions certainly are not the same in all communities. If I say "general," it is certainly much better in the federation and the republics. I think it is already worse in some communes, and I think that frequently it is very bad in the individual associated labor organizations, in which the general conditions in a specific community are not such that a trade union organization can always express its real positions without incurring consequences, so to speak.

[Question] Who in your opinion expresses his views or is in the best position to do so?

[Answer] Well, certainly those who possess the most information and influence are in the best position; they are the managing cadres. I think that the League of Communists organization in some places is nevertheless in a better position, although its position in some organizations is similar to that of the trade unions. However, I think the delegates are in a similar position to that of the trade unions is self-management is underdeveloped; they are not in a position to express their views.

Considering ability: You know, ability certainly is increasing from day to day. But we have 46,000 basic organizations of the CTUY, and it is certain that this ability to function independently as a trade union does not yet exist in some of them.

Finally, the situation this year, as well as in past years, when it has really been necessary to work more for stabilization, productivity and distribution, certainly pushes the trade unions objectively to deal more and more with these essential questions of self-management and business operations and to give priority to some questions. Winter supplies, recreation, domestic heating and so forth, as (?you put it), do remain within the activities of the trade unions but no longer are the only or the most important questions.

Well, there are some organizations in which these have remained their only activities, but I do think their number is decreasing.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA 1981 ECONOMIC PLAN ADOPTED

LD292045 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Text] The delegates of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina have adopted a resolution on the basic guidelines and framework of the policy of development and several other documents for 1981. The plan is that industrial production in Bosnia-Hercegovina next year should go up by about 5 percent, agricultural production by about 3.5 percent, employment for 2.5 percent, productivity of labor 2 percent and the standard of living 2.3 percent. The export of goods should go up 7 percent, compared with this year, to reach the value of about 37.5 billion dinars, and imports should go up 4 percent reaching the value of just under 54 billion dinars. Thus the coverage of imports by exported goods should increase from 67.8 percent this year to 69.7 percent next year.

KOSOVO PARTY COMMITTEE FORESEES GOOD DEVELOPMENT

AU291043 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 80 p 3

[M. Daci and M. Antic report]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 19 Dec--The League of Communists of Kosovo as a whole as well as all of its organs and members individually have an extraordinarily important task in conducting the public discussion on the draft constitutional amendments of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY.

That was pointed out at today's session of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo which was presided over by Mahmut Bakali. The session stressed the importance of the communists' involvement and activity in carrying out the public discussion on the draft constitutional amendments of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY, that are designed to create the necessary prerequisites for consistent implementation of Comrade Tito's initiative for advancing collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility in all communities.

Development of Self-Managing Democracy

Speaking about that in his introductory report at the session, Dusan Ristic, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, said:

"The League of Communists of Kosovo must orient its involvement in this connection to further advancing the perception and understanding of the essence of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility in our socialist, self-managing and democratic society as well as the perception and understanding of what all that implies for the further development of socialist self-managing democracy and for the overall development of socialist society in our country. The League of Communists of Kosovo must develop its activity in this connection within the program of ideological-political activity in the public discussion on constitutional amendments that has been adopted by the Presidium of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference."

Concluding the discussion on the issue at the session of the Provincial Committee, Mahmut Bakali, president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, also pointed out the extraordinarily important tasks of communists in conducting the public discussion. It is the task of communists, he said, to call attention to the revolutionary importance and essence of Tito's initiative. It is within that essence that, by developing and strengthening the spirit of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility, the self-management and the delegate system should contribute to preventing and eliminating all those phenomena that could threaten the further development of the society on democratic and self-managing foundations.

Mahmut Bakali informed members of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo that, complying with the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Presidium of the Provincial Committee would complete, by the beginning of April, all preparations to consistently implement the collective method of work, decisionmaking and responsibility as well as the principle of a 1-year term of office for the president and a 2-year term of office for the secretary of the Provincial Committee.

Development Plans on Time

Bahri Oruci, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, informed members of the Provincial Committee on the course of accords between the Federal Executive Council and the executive councils of socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces on the foundations of Yugoslavia's social plan for the next 5-year period and, within this context, on the policy of accelerated development of economically underdeveloped republics and of Kosovo.

Oruci especially emphasized that a democratic atmosphere prevailed and a democratic procedure was followed during the entire progress toward the accords. It was in that atmosphere and within that procedure that views were expressed, proposals made and orientations outlined and that then, on these bases, solutions were adopted which were acceptable for all participants in the accords. According to Oruci, the funds received by Kosovo in the coming medium-term period under the accord that has been signed, will be increased by 34.1 percent as compared with the fund received by Kosovo in the preceding 5-year period. Speaking about the accords on resources of the federation's fund for the development of undeveloped regions and on Kosovo's share of the resources for the 1981-85 period, Bahri Oruci said:

"Although we cannot be completely satisfied in relation to our original proposals and expectations and in view of the need in the coming period to make an important turn in the direction of Kosovo's quicker development that would ensure a higher employment rate among the province's population and reduce the relative differences in this region's development level in relation to the country's average, we must nevertheless state that the resources allocated to Kosovo from the federation's fund under the achieved accord are relatively and absolutely larger than those allocated to Kosovo from the same fund during the current medium-term plan period. Together with other measures that our society will take in this respect, these funds provide a good basis that will enable us to achieve quicker development of Kosovo's economy, if we simultaneously also improve our organization and increase our responsibility for activating all our potentials and for efficiently using the resources allocated to us from the fund."

It has again been confirmed this time that our system of social accords and agreements demonstrates its vital strength even when it is a question of the most sensitive material issues, Mahmut Bakali said in his concluding address at the session. The solutions incorporated in the accords on the foundations of the next medium-term plan are, on all key issues, in accord with the LCY policy and the stabilization policy. These accords open a new scope for the association of labor and pooling of resources which, in addition to its economic importance, also has strategic importance for strengthening the cohesion and unity of our peoples and nationalities on the class-social basis. What has been achieved with the accords represents the common interest and the real potential of our society, Bakali said. New prospects for quicker development, which is in the interest of our entire self-managing socialist community, are opening in the coming medium-term period for all working people and citizens of Kosovo, for all peoples and nationalities living in Kosovo, Bakali concluded.

MACEDONIAN GOVERNMENT PLANS EXPLORATION, IMPORTS

AU271925 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 80 p 8

[M.K. report]

[Text] Skopje, 17 Dec--In the coming medium-term period, about 450 million dinars will be invested in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia for exploration in the field of energy resources, metals and nonmetallic minerals. This was decided today at a session of the Executive Council (Blagoj Popov in the chair) which among other things determined the programs for exploring for mineral raw materials in the republic in the period from 1981 to 1985.

Discussing the possibilities for long-term cooperation with the developing countries, and "the linkage of imports of key raw materials" from these countries, the council decided that an increase of imports from the developing countries is "one of the priority tasks in efforts to expand overall economic relations with foreign countries." The council also discussed the basic directions of developing the economic relations of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia with the socialist countries in the coming 5 years. It was assessed that this cooperation, as an integral part of Yugoslavia's economic cooperation with these countries, is constantly increasing and displays a considerable level of stability and a tendency towards expansion and diversification. In this respect, the council indicated the need for developing this cooperation, especially when it is a matter of exports of agricultural food products, consumer goods and equipment, as well as of developing higher forms of economic cooperation.

The council was acquainted with the losses shown by associated labor organizations in the economic field in the first 9 months of this year. It was noted that 127 organizations, or only 7 percent of their total number, incurred losses, which is much less than in the same period last year, for instance. However, according to the data presented, the overall volume of losses has nevertheless increased because--it was stressed--of "chiefly negative results in the business operations of two work organizations." It was also pointed out that a part of the negative effect is a consequence of the change in the dinar exchange rate.

In addition to several proposed bills, the council also endorsed a proposal to provide almost 20 million dinars in 1981 for the education and training of citizens of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia who at the moment are temporarily employed and resident abroad. According to some data, supplementary teaching in Macedonian is provided to 2,850 pupils in West European countries, and 7,800 pupils in Australia, the United States and Canada.

At its session the council also gave its consent to the decision of the self-managing organs of Skopje radio-television to increase the fee for the use of radio receivers in the coming year. However, the official announcement of the Secretariat for Information does not state how much the subscription fee will be increased.

SERBIAN ASSEMBLY ADOPTS 1981 PLAN RESOLUTION

LD292046 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1708 GMT 29 Dec 80

[Summary] Belgrade, 29 Dec (TANJUG)--At their joint session today the delegates of all three chambers of the Serbian Assembly adopted a resolution on Serbia's 1981 socioeconomic development plan. The resolution envisages a social product growth of about 4 percent in which context the growth of industrial production will be about 5.5 percent and agriculture about 3 percent. The delegates also agreed on the policy for the growth of resources for general and joint consumption, with a ceiling of 19 percent growth with the exception of health and education, where it can grow at the rate of 19.2 percent.

ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT SPEAKS ON INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT

AU252008 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly, today addressed the political aktiv of the League of Communists of Belgrade. Dusan Gligorijevic was in the chair. Dragoslav Markovic first spoke about the international situation and the position of Yugoslavia. Pointing out the activities of our country in the nonaligned movement and our country's involvement in the policy of detente in Europe, Dragoslav Markovic said that Yugoslavia ensured its prestige in the world through such activities.

Dragoslav Markovic assessed our internal development in the coming period as being crucial in our efforts to realize the tasks which we have set regarding the reduction of the payments deficit, the increase of exports and the decrease of imports. He stressed that overall development in the future cannot be based on low earnings of workers in material production and that deeper social changes can be achieved only through a change in the position of the workers.

Dragoslav Markovic pointed out that some occurrences, such as slowness in income linkage, in bank transformation and changes in local organizations, can no longer be calmly watched and that it is the duty of the League of Communists and all subjective forces to analyze the causes of this situation. In conclusion, Dragoslav Markovic advocated more democratic dialogue and responsibility, especially in the practice of the League of Communists organizations.

MIKULIC SPEAKS AT SARAJEVO ON OLYMPICS SIGNIFICANCE

LD281910 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0804 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Sarajevo, 28 Dec (TANJUG)--"For us the Olympic games represent primarily an impetus for a fast development of continental and above all winter tourism and tourist economy, tertiary activities and production of goods as yet unavailable, for realizing greater tourist turnover and net foreign currency income, for the association of labor and means in Yugoslavia's economy on the basis of income relations, for a more intensive and comprehensive cooperation of tourist organizations in Yugoslavia and a united presence on the internal and foreign markets with complementary and complex range of tourist services, for a faster development of work with citizens' personal means and for an increase in the number of employed." This is among the things said by Branko Mikulic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the organizing committee for the 14th Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo in 1984, addressing the Sarajevo political aktiv on 25 December. He spoke about the sociopolitical significance of this greatest sports events to be held in our country.

"The question here," Mikulic went on, "is of a development program which is in no way contrary to the policy of stabilization but is on the contrary in keeping with that policy and particularly with the demand for realizing a greater net foreign currency income.

"In this connection it is necessary to say that Yugoslavia's ability to continue to increase capacities on the Adriatic coast is not great. On the other hand the great potential for the development of continental tourism and particularly winter centers for sports and recreation has not been exploited. Activating this potential is in the interest of all Yugoslavia, as well as of the Adriatic region. Preparations for the Olympic games and the holding of the games speed up this whole process--not only in the area in which the games will take place but in the entire republic and, without doubt, in all Yugoslavia. And as for the cost of organizing and holding the games, about which much is being said and written at the moment, it constitutes about a mere fifth of the income to be realized by the organizational committee by selling various goods abroad."

"Taking all this into account, we ask ourselves: Why are some newspapers making an issue out of this situation? The Olympic games are not only a great and--seen in isolation from the total effect--an expensive sports event but a lot more, and much more important than this. They are an impetus for building the entire policy of the development of tourism and other tertiary activities in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia, for activating natural resources until now unused, for making new products in industry, for greater production of food and better organization of transportation, for greater foreign currency income, so much needed by the country, and for other things.

"For this reason discussions and polemics should center around these real questions and best solutions should be found for them in a joint effort, concepts and visions of development should be built, instead of reducing everything to arbitrary statements about this being a question of investments which are not in keeping with the stabilization policy as if stabilization should lead to stagnation and not to economically healthy growth; further, that this is a question of unnecessary expense, noneconomic investments, megalomania and the like.

"This is because merely stating such claims can cause confusion and--in connection with raising the question of the justification of the games and doubt which this causes among business partners abroad--direct material damage too. We in the organizational committee, who are doing most in connection with the games, the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the town of Sarajevo, which provide the largest part of funds supplied by the social community, have never thought anything like that. Instead we say: The Olympic games will be well prepared and staged, and the fact that two thirds of the total amount needed for the construction of the necessary buildings and for the organization of the games can realistically be secured from the income of selling various goods, convinces one that from this more narrow point of view also the Olympic games represent an economically attractive option," Branko Mikulic said.

Speaking about the investments for the needs of the Olympic games, Mikulic said that in the course of all debates and while making decisions on the investments care was taken that all investments should be as rational as possible, in keeping with the policy of stabilization and obligations that all the newly constructed buildings should be used for their true purpose in the post-Olympic period.

"For this reason we have insisted that all those things which are not vital for holding the games should be reduced and that things should be planned so that the use of the buildings should not be changed after the Olympics. This is particularly true of the 'green transversal' and the new building in Skenderija and partly also of the bobsled track. For this reason appropriate economic installations and storage facilities will be built next to these buildings thus creating conditions for their self-financing after the Olympics, without the need to change the purpose for which the sports halls are used."

"Pistes and vertical transport on Mt Jahorina, Mt Igman and Mt Bjelasnica have been planned and will be built so that they can carry simultaneously over 60,000 Alpine and Nordic skiers per hour. This is a very good capacity for winter tourism and for the needs of our working people and citizens.

"For this reason preparations should be made now for adequate transportation of a great number of winter sports fans and mountain lovers and for adquate accommodation to be offered to the guests in hotels, social organizations, premises, private rooms and so on. In other words, as early as tomorrow we should start working on solving questions of direct interest to our working people and citizens, and particularly to the healthy life and development of the young. This represents a very wide area for activity of the interested organizations of associated labor--let us say in the sphere of transportation, catering and other activities--of sociopolitical communities, local communities, social organizations, the Socialist Alliance and other organizations. Everyone should do their own bit and use their own initiative in the preparations for the games."

"Since agreement has not yet been reached on partial participation of other socialist republics and provinces in the solidarity financing of the preparations for the games, agreements should be reached as soon as possible in Sarajevo and the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina on sources for this part of the funds and decision be brought at the earliest possible time about this, since the timely availability of the funds is a crucial condition for the realization of the planned program of construction work and other preparations for the games. Since the games are to be held in Sarajevo it is understandable that the obligations of working people and citizens of Sarajevo are the greatest.

"For this reason great attention should be paid among other things to the initiatives to use funds raised by the new voluntary tax in the construction of sports installations and projects of infrastructure. Appropriate proposals should be prepared about this, public debate should be held and decisions made.

"As for passing or not passing a social agreement, on this occasion it should be stressed again that this is primarily a question of principle and then a material question. Whatever decision is reached will also answer the questions about whether such events in Yugoslavia will in future be treated as a joint venture and, at least partly jointly financed.

"We in the organizational committee and the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina believe that they should, we will accept what is jointly agreed and will cause no problems about it," Mikulic said.

Stating that the decision by the International Olympic Committee to hold the 1984 winter Olympics in Sarajevo represents another confirmation of Yugoslavia's high standing in the world, Branko Mikulic stressed that people in the world sincerely believe that the 1984 winter Olympic games in Yugoslavia will be well organized and that they will contribute to the rehabilitation of the Olympic movement and to stronger links and greater friendship among peoples of the world. It is our duty to show, Mikulic said, that such expectations are justified, thus contributing to the further affirmation of our country's high standing and to that of its peace-loving, nonaligned policy in the world.

BORBA ARTICLE ATTACKS OPPOSITION FORCES

AU241335 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 80 p 3

[Nandor Major article: "Some New Class Wants the Main Role"--third in a series of five articles by Nandor Major on "current ideopolitical trends in culture"]

[Excerpt] Our revolutionary forces have never been uncritical toward themselves and toward the development of society; as difficulties and occasionally stagnation have arisen, the importance of responsible social criticism which would forge the way by discovering new solutions has only increased, for this is a prerequisite for removing and replacing, through fresh actions, that which hampers us. The organized socialist forces have not done their best in this respect.

Simultaneously with the slowing down of the initiative and action by the organized socialist forces, the carping oppositional utterances have multiplied, and attempts have been made to push the organized socialist forces into a defensive position by imposing certain subjects for discussion.

Some proven anti-self-managing little groups have been "working" in our country for years, but certain differences exist among them. The organized socialist forces have a comparatively easy struggle against Djilas and Mihailov or Tudjman and Gotovac, who are isolated in the country but make efforts to appear with their utterances at least among the foreign public. Few people from the ranks of the intelligentsia are prepared to support them in any way, let alone to cooperate with them. Some of them conduct open anti-communist propaganda, and all the country knows by now that they are linked with foreign anti-Yugoslav propaganda centers. The fruit of this linkage is the "critical" biography of Tito which Djilas, in his business eagerness, wrote during Tito's illness and completed immediately before his death. This is a loathsome controversial tract with a most insulting content regarding Yugoslavia; it is now getting negative reviews in any foreign newspapers which are at all serious and the more serious journalists in the West refuse to review it. [paragraph continues]

Djilas is now openly cooperating with Yugoslav political emigres; an editorial in the latest issue of the journal NASA REC, which is published in London, says it is a "historic moment" because in its October issue, Djilas "under his full name published an article on the problems of relations between the country and the emigres" and "boldly stood against a simplified regime picture of the emigres." There are few people who do not turn their back to open anticommunist agitators and exponents of emigres.

Fabricated Refuge

Somewhat more complicated is the ideological struggle of the organized socialist forces against the little groups which are gathering round Tadic, Cosic, Markovic, Supek, Kermauner and others. These little groups are rather heterogeneous and include proven nationalists, neoleftists, Christian existentialists and even technobureaucrats and statists, and they are frequently linked with each other. Although, these, too, in essence therefore stand on anti-self-managing positions (although they sometimes make statements in the name of self-management) and are concerned to prove their identity again and again as people who are in conflict with the League of Communists and who are struggling for the status of acknowledged "opposition" (but some of them protest when foreign press calls them opposition and dissidents), they nevertheless regularly publish their books in the country and are present in our public. They even do not use all their utterances to spread anti-self-managing beliefs, but from time to time publish works which can be used. Therefore there are intellectuals who are prepared to support them, although they do not agree with their political beliefs or perhaps because they do not always recognize the political essence, hidden behind their theoretical prattle, as an opposition one.

For instance, in the latest installment of his diary in which he sometimes broaches real problems but which is full of oppositional tirades, Taras Kermauner says among other things: "Does anybody in his insolence dare to say that we are not sunk in a crisis up to our chins? That the entire transitional period is not a rotten fruit?" To call socialism a rotten fruit is a clear anti-socialist position.

Or when Milan Kangrga, in reply to Stipe Suvar's criticism of neoleftist constructions, announces that the entire "old left" has a Stalinist origin, could we lack intelligence to such a degree that we failed to see that this is directed against the League of Communists? "Regarded in a historical context," Kangrga writes, "this old left has appeared so far in its one and only aspect: either as Stalinism or as various ideological-political currents arising from Stalinism. This is a global situation and not specific to Yugoslavia." Well, now it is clear what Kangrga thinks the League of Communists is. Immediately afterward he asks the following pompous question: "Does one really stick to this kind of 'old leftism' if one attacks in such a persistent way this so-called 'neoleftism'?" We could ask him: Does he really think that the dilemma he sets--whether to stick to such "old leftism" as Kangrga presents or to abandon it--is now relevant for the League of Communists? Or: Does he justify the existence of "neoleftism" only formally--as a logical reason because the old leftists allegedly have to find a refuge somewhere--regardless of what either stands for?

Staged Mystifications

We must therefore bear in mind that the "opposition members" do not always carry out opposition activities and that opposition activities are not always carried out by "opposition members." In addition to the little groups and individuals who in the course of the years on several occasions have informed us that they are decided "opposition members," there are others who appear in such a position for the first time or who are in this position only in some partial problems. Our attitude toward them should in principle be different from the one we adopt toward those who consciously and persistently do not wish to find a common language with the organized socialist forces; one should struggle with them not through a benevolent or unprincipled indulgence but through a frank dialog.